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H. G. G. G. G.

THE
CASTLE
OF THE
TUILERIES:

OR,
A NARRATIVE
OF ALL THE EVENTS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE
IN THE INTERIOR OF THAT PALACE,
FROM THE TIME OF ITS CONSTRUCTION
TO THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF THE YEAR VIII.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,
By FRANCIS LATHOM.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL II.

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OF VOL. II.

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SEVENTH DAY.

RAMBLES IN PARIS.

CHAP. X.

Visit to the Collection of Arts in the Monastery of the Petits Augustins.—Reflections on the Monuments of Mazarin and Richelieu.—Lord Bedford enters the Mint.—State of the Moneying System and of the Quantity of Specie in Circulation.—Situation of the Caisse des Assignats at the Fall of the Throne.—Table of the lowest Value of the Paper Money.—A View of the Groups in the Streets of Paris.—State of the Parisian National Guard; what it cost in 1789 and 1790.—Annual Expences of the Municipality of Paris.—New Way of marrying.—Visit to the Bastille; Reflections on several of the State Prisoners.—Walk to the Botanic Garden, Observations which it produced.—Character of the Market Women at the Revolution.—A Sitting of a Club of Women.—Examination of the Royal Carriages.—Number of Horses kept by the three last Kings.—The Duke of Orleans goes to a Freemasons' Lodge; some Particulars of this Association, and of the Sect of the Illuminati; horrible Oath of these latter.—Visit to the Minister of the Finances; some Particulars of this Administration.—View of the Public Offices, and of those employed therein.—Lord Bedford goes to the Theatre; Disturbances of which he is a Witness.

THE days that we were prevented from visiting the palace, we consecrated to rambles in Paris, and these days Lord Bedford termed days

of rest. When we met this morning, his first question was, "Whither will you conduct me to-day?" Rather at a loss what to shew him, "let us," said I, "go into the first street; Paris abounds with objects worthy of observation, and we shall soon meet with one of them;" we walked along. "I am tormented with what I allow is an indiscreet curiosity," said Lord B. "Can I satisfy it?" "It is in your power: it is now ten days that I have had the pleasure of being acquainted with you, and notwithstanding the attention with which I have studied you, I am not able to discover to which party of the revolution you belong." "Notwithstanding that politic rather than wise law of the great Grecian legislator *, I declare to you that I belong to no party; I do not love extremes. I reason thus. Revolutions and insurrections cannot prevent truth remaining one and the same, nor the path of good sense being the same, nor true wisdom always holding the same language." "What you say is very true."

* A law of Solon's declared those persons infamous who, in public commotions, did not join a party. It is for learned politicians to decide whether this law was not vile and barbarous.

"Now

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“ Now, truth, good sense, and wisdom, have never joined any party whatever.” “ I foresee your conclusion ; but if all those who think as you do, and I am pleased in believing that there are many such in France, were to remain in the same inactivity, your country would soon be at the mercy of fanatics, who would lay it waste, and at beholding it you would soon be reduced to say, as Milton does of hell, ‘ that even hope is not there.’ ” “ On the contrary, good being produced by evil, I imagine I foresee the happiness of my country in the misfortunes which are afflicting it. By not interfering in the quarrels of the fanatics, the one party will destroy the other, and the worthy man will remain : I will allow that this is a sorrowful reflection to humanity ; particularly so, when we reflect that many honest and worthy men will be sacrificed ; but as things are situated I know not what else can be done.” “ Excuse me,” said Lord B. “ the honest men ought to league together to resist the excesses of both parties.” I answered, “ as such men will only employ wise reasonings and fair means, they will infallibly be overcome ;

mention to me one place, where the most worthy man, if he does not hold his tongue, is not exposed to the designs of intriguers, his lot is to vegetate oppressed or forgotten; what I advance applies to all countries and to all governments. Cincinnatus is the only one that has been fetched from the plough." "I have done," said Lord B. "I know you now, and do not esteem you the less."

"Let us step in here," said I to my lord, "With all my heart; but where are we?" "At the Petits Augustins; here a deposit of a new kind is intended to be made; all the master-pieces of sculpture, that destructive rage has forgotten or overlooked, are to be collected here; the tombs and monuments that are in estimation, and which were dispersed in the churches and in the convents, will soon be in a situation to satisfy the curiosity of the learned, without their being obliged to seek for them. The design is to place them according to their dates; the idea is happy and instructive. Thus at one view will be seen the progress of the art. See, here is Cardinal Mazarin's tomb, and opposite to it is that of Cardinal Richelieu;
let

let me ask you, what would these two men say if they were now living? Richelieu would not say any thing, he would act: as to Mazarin, he would intrigue so much and so well, that he would make the French sing again." After having gone the round, and examined as much as the disorder that this collection of master-pieces was then in would allow us to do, we bent our way to the Pont-Neuf.

Whilst talking we came to the Mint; B. expressed a desire to visit this workshop of the public wealth, and we went in: we were examining the first republican crowns that came from under the press, when one of my old friends tapped me upon the shoulder, I turned round, recognized him, and we threw ourselves into each other's arms; after the effusions of friendship, he informed me that he belonged to the Mint; I immediately made known to him who Lord B. was, and his desire to visit and become acquainted with this spot, which gives life to trade.—My friend conducted us through every part of this curious magazine; he showed us the room in which were deposited the gold and silver taken from the houses of the

emigrants, and that which was sent in as patriotic gifts, this last article did not take up much room. Bedford asked whether the plate which the king sent in was amongst this deposit. "Oh yes, my lord," replied my friend, "but the king knew very well that he should get a new set." "My lord," said my friend, "is certainly not curious about the manner of coining, that is every where the same." My lord answered, "the operation that produces your Louis is the same that gives us our Guineas; what I wish to know is, some particulars of your Mint economy; for example, the expence attending the coinage and re-coinage, and the quantity of your specie in circulation." "I have written a treatise upon the situation of the coin at the accession of Louis the Sixteenth to the throne; that is a criterion upon which you may form your opinion, it is even the only one that can serve as a basis; if you will come into my closet, I will communicate it to you."

MEMORIAL drawn up in 1774, in order to render to the king an account of that which was necessary to be known by him respecting the current coin.

The right of coinage forms a part of the sovereignty.

It is in the king's power to give to the money that he orders to be coined, such a value as he pleases, and according to which, it is to be current in his kingdom.

His majesty generally takes a right or tax upon the specie, which is called the lord's right or regality ; it is fixed according to his will.

Anciently this lord's right was a resource in the exigencies of the state, because it was carried beyond its just bounds. Under the reign of Louis XIV. it was sometimes not claimed, and sometimes re-established at a higher or lower rate, according to circumstances ; it has even been levied as high as 25 per cent. that is to say, 25 francs upon one hundred francs.

Under the late king the variations in the value of the coins were frequent, from the time

he came to the throne until 1726, and according to the exigencies of the times, the lord's right varied as in the preceding reigns.

The faults that had frequently been committed in raising and lowering the currency of the coins, were discovered in 1726. The greatest part of the current specie had been carried out of the kingdom, and particularly to the Austrian Netherlands, where we found every denomination of our coin, in 1744, when we waged war there.

It was in 1726 that the late king ordered a general recoinage of gold and silver; the louis were fixed at 24 livres, the same as they now are; there are thirty of them in a mark of eight ounces, they are current for 720 livres; the crowns were fixed at six livres each, there are eight of them and three pieces of twelve pence (sols) each in a mark, which have currency,

	livres	sols	den.
the eight crowns for - - - -	48	—	—
and the three 12 sols pieces for -	1	16	—
	<hr/>		
	49	16	—
	<hr/>		

The

The coins have not been altered since that time, and the advantage of not doing so has been experienced.

The lord's right upon the mark of gold, coined according to the edict of 1726, was six and one sixth of six per hundred, that is to say, seven francs upon one hundred francs, and it has, from time to time, according to the different augmentations in value that have been given to the price of the bullion, been reduced to rather more than one and one fifth per hundred, that is to say, to twenty-four sols upon one hundred francs, at which it now remains.

That upon the mark of silver was also six and one sixth per hundred, but that has likewise from time to time been reduced, and is now at two and three fourths, or fifty-five sols upon one hundred francs.

The coinage since 1726, including 1773,
 in gold amounts to - - 865,453,842 livres
 and in silver to - - 1,326,074,909

In all 2,191,528,751 livres

It

It appears that the coinage has been considerably greater in the last ten years, than in the ten preceding; it is the effect of a wise policy in the government: by sacrificing the lord's rights to the advantage of the bankers, they have been enabled to perform many commercial and exchange concerns, which have brought into the kingdom this mass of current specie. The same means were employed from 1753, and it is known that the coinage for ten years from that time exceeded that of the ten anterior years, whereas it ought to have diminished, because there did not remain any of the old coins to supply the mint, as had been the case in the twenty preceding years.

It is therefore very certain, that without the assistance of the mint duty or the king's having given up his lord's right, there would not at this time be that mass of current coin in the kingdom that there is.

Nevertheless, although it is very true, that since the year 1726 there have been coined eight hundred and sixty-five millions in gold, and thirteen hundred and twenty-six millions
in

in silver, it is not to be supposed that the whole remains in the kingdom, because it is a fact that a great deal was carried into foreign countries, during the two last wars, and particularly during that which began in 1757. All the troops in Germany were paid in French money. All the princes in the neighbourhood of the theatre of war gave the Jews leave to coin agreeable to their dies, and the advantage was too great to them not to melt down our crowns and our louis. Further, the King of Prussia assisted herein; from every thirty louis which he melted down, and which were worth no more than seven hundred and twenty livres, he coined upwards of eleven hundred livres, and from our crowns he gained in the same proportion. So that the current specie in the kingdom cannot be estimated at more than eighteen to nineteen hundred millions; and this is the general opinion.

If the expences of coinage, and the waste, were not so considerable as they are, it would be no difficult matter to retain the specie in the kingdom, by a general re-coinage, bearing the die and the arms of the king; but when it is
taken

taken into consideration that to coin a mark of silver, the expences or charges

amount to - - - 9 fols 8 deniers

and the decrease in weight or

waste to - - - 5 fols

14 fols 8 deniers*

and the charges upon a mark of gold liv. fol. dén.

to - - - - - 13 8

waste to - - - - - 1 6 7

livres 2 — 3

It will be found that estimating the current specie at only eighteen hundred millions, it would cost eighteen millions nine hundred and twenty thousand livres. Even if the king on this recoinage gave up his lord's rights, the charges must either be found in the specie or they must fall on the king or the proprietors or the specie; the one and the other ought equally to be avoided.

The opinion therefore is, that at present all that is wanted is a new die; that is to say, a

* A denier is the twelfth part of a French fol, (penny.)

representation of his majesty's head, and a new shield for his arms, and to have orders given that the specie that shall be coined shall be of the same weight and standard with that now current, but bearing the head and arms of his majesty, and that it shall all have the present currency.

If this step be taken, every thing will remain as it now is, and the public will suffer no anxiety about any alteration in the specie.

This was not the case in 1715. A short time after the king's death, there was a report that an alteration in the coin would take place; which occasioned a decree of the council, of the 12th of October of that year, being issued, wherein it was declared, that the specie should remain at the currency it then was, in consequence of a declaration issued on the preceding 13th of August.

This decree produced some degree of tranquillity, but it did not last long; for on the 14th of the December following a public declaration was made, directing that the coinage ordered by the edict of May, 1709, should be continued on the same footing, with a new die
and

and arms, such as is intended to be proposed to his majesty.

But at the time that this declaration was issued, there was an edict in the press, which appeared a few days afterwards, and which was registered on the 31st of December of the same year 1715, by which a reform was ordered in all the specie coined by virtue of the edict of May, 1709, and a coinage, according to the dies and arms appointed by the declaration of the 14th of the said month of December, with an augmentation in the current value. The louis were then current for no more than fourteen livres, they were received at the mint for sixteen, and after having been reformed, that is to say, after having been stamped with the new die and the king's arms, they were restored to the public at twenty livres. It was the same with the silver, and in the same proportion.

This falsification proved to be a considerable loss to the kingdom; it occasioned a very great quantity of specie being sent out of it, and the foreigners, by counterfeiting the die and the arms, gained four livres on each louis, which the king ought to have gained.

BASE COIN.

There are two sorts ; one of them are pieces of two sols, the other of eighteen deniers.

The first was ordered by an edict in October, 1738 ; there were of them to the amount of eight millions two hundred and fifty-five thousand and fifty-four livres and fifteen sols.

The second are of ancient coinages under Henry II. Charles IX. Henry III. Henry IV. Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. the amount is not known, but it is thought not to be so considerable as that of two sols.

There is nothing to be done at present with these two sorts of coins ; they do not bear the king's profile, they may continue to pass for some time, although they are worn very smooth.

COPPER COINS.

These pieces are of one sol, of two liards, * and of one liard. Some of them are very old, of which the number is unknown ; but as it was not found to be sufficient, a new coinage was ordered, by an edict in August, 1768,

* A liard is of the value of three deniers.

perhaps

perhaps the whole may at present amount to about one million and two hundred thousand livres; they bear the king's profile; but this coinage having ceased, it might be continued and finished with the same stamp; it would occasion a needless expence to make new dies for copper money.

After what has been said, it will be clearly seen, that a new reign does not require a sudden change in the impression of the coins.

It is therefore proposed to his majesty to issue a declaration, to assure the public, that there will be no alteration in the specie.

He is entreated to allow the engraver general to draw his head, and to choose the position of it, as shall be most agreeable to him.

“ This short statement,” said Lord B. “ is as you told me, sufficient to give me information, as to the amount of the current specie in France. It cannot be supposed that it varied much during the short reign of Louis XVI.”

“ Very little, before Calonne became minister of the finances; but the melting of the louis which took place then, occasioned many of these pieces to be sent out of the kingdom. The

Swifts,

Swifts, who were very desirous of having them, gave goods to the amount of twenty-five livres for a louis of twenty-four livres. This advantage tempted many Jews, and French merchants, to carry our old louis into Switzerland, and overload France with their muslins and bad printed cottons. Since that time it has been impossible to form any conjecture as to the amount of the coin in circulation.” “And at at present,” returned Lord B. “it must be more difficult, for your emigrés have for these four years been carrying it off; Paris from that time resembles ancient Troy after its famous siege; the rich carried away their gods and sought another country.” “To which must be added, that many Frenchmen buried it; and that the circulating coin in France, at present, is very little indeed.” “But your paper money supplies the want of it.” “That is very true, it is very useful; all I fear is, that so much will be issued, that the same fate will attend it, that attended Louis’ paper.” “Its quantity is not very considerable at present?” “I think it very much so; but you shall judge for yourself; I will show you the last state of it, as presented to the king six days before his fall.

RECAPITULATION of the ACCOUNT of ASSIGNATS.

Saturday, the 4th of August, 1792, at three o'clock.

Created on the following days.

	<i>Livres.</i>	S.	D.
16th and 17th April, 1790,	400,000,000	—	—
28th September,	800,000,000	—	—
19th June, 1791,	600,000,000	—	—
2d November,	300,000,000	—	—
30th April, 1792,	300,000,000	—	—
31st July,	300,000,000	—	—
	<hr/>		
In all	2,700,000,000	—	—

EXPENCES.

Unto 31st July, 1792,	2,345,812,772	—	9
During the three first days in August,	19,018,849	19	5
Of this day,	909,125	7	2
	<hr/>		
Remained of the said creations,	334,259,252	12	8

The expences unto and including the 4th of August, amount to 2,365,740,747 7 4

ASSIGNATS BURNT.

Unto 31st July,	587,000,000	—	—	—	—
In August,	6,000,000	—	—	—	—
Remained of the said creations,	1,772,740,747	7	4		

CIRCULATION,

In which must be included the billets de caiffe, (cash notes) on this day remaining to be exchanged,	8,155,300	—	—		
The amount of what is in circulation,	1,780,896,047	7	4		
The circulation is allowed to amount to two thousand millions; then, to make up that sum there is required,	219,113,952	12	8		
	2,000,000,000	—	—		

“ I did

“ I did not imagine,” said Lord B. “ that you had near two thousand million of paper in circulation.” “ you will be more surprised if you will add thereunto the small notes issued by the municipalities, in order to facilitate change, which was rendered impossible by the disappearance of metallic money.” “ That may be, but you do not take any notice of the assignats that were brought in and burnt.” “ That is of very little consequence; unto the 30th June, 1792, the amount of those burnt was only 8,348,317 livres, 12 fols, 8 deniers. It is, however, true, that at that time there had been returned to the treasury to the amount of 569,348,317 livres, 12 fols, 8 deniers.” “ The state was therefore freed from so much.” “ But reflect that it had then disposed of a part of the national landed property. * ”

Apropos

* In order not to return to paper money, I insert this note. Since the fall of the tyranny of Robespierre, a policy that I must still consider as fatal, caused the assignats to be cried down by the then governors; they fell rather than sunk in value. In the departments every thing was sold four different ways. For example in the year 3, about Perpignan, the measure of wood sold for one hundred livres in republican assignats; for sixty livres in assignats bearing the royal

“Apropos, speaking of national landed property, the enthusiasm which the French shewed to

royal head, which were at that time called in; for twenty livres in republican specie, and for twelve livres of ancient specie, which in the country was called *fit nomen*.

In the year IV. the assignats were replaced by the mandates, this was the lowest period of their decline in Paris, and the relation they then held to a louis d'or, was, that a louis was worth eighteen thousand livres in assignats. To buy with this paper, one was obliged to pay,

For a pound of bread *	150 livres.
For a pound of meat	250
For a pound of butter	500
For a bottle of common wine	200
For two pails of water, according to which a glass of water would come to 3 liards	50
For a bottle of brandy	800
For a bushel of French beans	1,280
For a pound of candles	250
For a string of onions	25
For a Brie cheese	600
For a pound of coffee	1500
For a pound of sugar	1400
For a dish of coffee	150
For a small glass of brandy	50

c 3

For

* According to which, allowing every person two pounds of bread daily for his sustenance, the cost of the bread for the twenty-four millions of inhabitants in France would amount to an annual sum of 2,628,000,000,000 livres.

to buy this property, charms me," said Lord B. "the exorbitant prices they paid will soon
 be set

For a rennet apple.....	50 livres.
For a pair of shoes	2000
For an ell of Elbœuf cloth	8000
For a common hat	3000
For washing a shirt	50
For washing a handkerchief	15
The first places in the theatre	1000

Observe, that the annuitants were paid in assignats at their nominal value.

The mandates were the intermediate currency between the assignats and the resurrection of metallic money; on their first appearance, the loss on them was 88 per cent. and they soon fell to 94; when they were at this last price, the deputies indemnified themselves. They received for the months of Floreal and Prairial.

Each deputy for the month of Floreal,.....	5,600 livres.
At sundry times in the months of Floreal and Prairial, to make up for insufficiency of allowance	19,300
Allowance for Prairial paid the 15th...	5,600
The first of Messidor for indemnities ...	8,400

In all 38,900 livres.

Which makes, allowing six livres in specie, for one hundred livres in mandates, 2,334 livres of real money for the 38,900 livres in mandates, and by dividing this sum of 2,334 livres by the number of days, it will be found that
 each

set the state at ease, and enrich private persons." "Allow me to say, my lord, that your admiration proceeds from want of reflection; I know that the national landed property was sold above its value, but by its being overpaid for, does it acquire a greater degree of value? Certainly not; let us suppose that the whole of these immoveables which were estimated at two thousand millions, sold for as much again; the arpent of land thus sold, will not produce the more. The favorable conditions which the nation gave to the purchasers, tempted and seduced them; the result of which will be found to be, that the nation has duped the nation, and it will be happy if bankruptcies do not follow, and that the purchasers are not reduced to beggary." "Your reasoning may be just," said Lord B. "between one private person and another private person, but your play upon the word nation, makes an epigram of what you have said; and from the moment you allow that the purchases were

C 4

made

each member received 38 livres, 17 sols, 6 den. of real money, or specie, for every day in the two months.

The constituting assembly cost 25,000 livres a day, which comes to 9,125,000 livres for the year.

made too high, it becomes a certainty that some one or other profits by them. In this instance, it is the nation that gains ; so much the worse for the fools that bought its property too dear.”

“ This is all very well, but when the buyers are ruined by the purchases that they have made, from whence will the resources of the nation come ?” “ Will not the lands remain the same, and be subject to the same impositions ?” “ Let us drop the subject if you please ; the discussion of it would carry us too far.” “ Very willingly,” said Lord B. “ Excuse me for having interrupted your occupations, and accept my thanks for your complaisance in answering to my troublesome curiosity ; my being a stranger must plead my excuse.”

When my lord and myself left the mint, we strolled to the Pont-Neuf, and stopped near a group which was formed on the spot where the statue of Henry IV. stood ; a blind man was the occasion of this assemblage ; he was vociferously crying the papers of Marat and Duchene ; in the heads which had been taught him, these two firebrands urged the people to assail those deputies who would not condemn the king. We

con-

continued on the spot after the blind barker had finished, to listen to the talkers, most of whom were women in rags; one of them advised her desperate companions to go the next day to the convention, and oblige the assembly to try the king in their presence; she then drew a knife from her pocket, and encouraged them to arm themselves with poniards, and murder those deputies who would save the king; clamorous applauses drowned this proposition, and we walked on.

“What a hideous spectacle!” said B. sorrowfully; “Does there then not remain any police in Paris; pillage and murder are coolly proposed without a fear of punishment.” That, my lord,” said I, “is revolutionary energy; and that does not belong to the police. Should you like to see the arsenal of this language? I am going to conduct you to the hall of justice, where there are constantly one hundred ragged women who talk of nothing but committing every thing to fire and blood; they are the chiefs of the female battalion, who in 1789, stalked to Versailles. They wait there for the orders which our stirrers-up of disturbances bring them.”

“No,

“ No, I am much obliged to you, pray take me somewhere else.”

When we arrived at the square on which stands the town-hall, he examined with a smile of pity the guard which filed off from the parade. “ Mandrin’s troop had a less pitiful appearance,” said he ; “ this mixture of pikes and muskets, of uniforms and dirty great coats, excites commiseration.” “ Be sure you do not laugh at them,” said I, “ they are our respectable Sans-Culottes ; you would suffer for the slightest joke upon them.” “ I will take care, I am going to resume my gravity. These people are certainly not paid.” “ Very few of them, thank God ; the national guard cost us devilishly dear ; according to the account delivered by the municipality in the department of the administration of the national Parisian guard, which they had the management of for fourteen months and a half, that is, from the 14th October 1789, to the 30th September 1790, it is mentioned that the pay of the national guard amounted to 7,475,226 livres, 4 sols, 4 den. for extraordinary pay 142,556 livres, 18 sols, 8 den. and for office expences

48,717

48,717 livres, 5 sols, 4 den. in all, 7,666,500 livres, 8 sols, 4 deniers ; add at least as much for the quarter-master's account, which was not then made up. The expences of the national Parifian guard* for this year 1792, amounts only to 48,275 livres." "The expences of your municipality must be very confiderable?" "They this year exceed five millions." "The keeping of your pavement and reverberations in order must cost a prodigious fum?" "The first comes to nearly 500,000 livres, and the latter to very nearly 600,000 livres." "The post of treasurer is certainly very lucrative?"

That

* The national Parifian guard exists no longer, it has been fucceeded by a guard of citizens, which is fcarcely feen, and which is only known by an obligation to pay almoft every month for a fubftitute; for every one is afhamed to mount guard personally, and the leaft wealthy citizen prefers fubmitting to perfonal privations, in order to lay afide the fifty sols which it costs him, rather than pafs twenty-four hours in a guard-house fmoked by thefe lazy infolents, who are called *remplacans*. This is a new clafs of ufelefs fluggards that is formed in Paris. Let a guard be raifed that is paid, well difciplined, and kept up by the citizens; the police will be the better for it, and inftead of fifty sols, that every one is now obliged to pay monthly, it will only cost him fix francs annually. Befides which, there will accrue the advantage of returning fome thoufand hands to labour.

That is a secret, all that I can tell you is, that his salary is 25,000 livres."

"Who are those well dressed persons getting out of a carriage?" "It is a marriage that is going to be celebrated; are you curious to see this new ceremony? Let us step into the Town-hall, it is the only temple of Hymen which is left to the Parisians." "With pleasure." We followed the bridal couple into a very large hall, which had no other decoration than some small benches, of which one was higher than the others. Every one sat down and talked freely, expecting the arrival of the high priest; a little man of mean appearance, very negligently dressed, soon came in, and mounted upon the highest bench. Without any preface, he caused the betrothed to approach a table, covered with an old dirty carpet, at which was seated a slovenly fellow who acted as secretary. After he had asked the names and surnames of the conjoined, and had assured himself of the presence of the relations and witnesses, he ordered an act of union to be written, which all who were called upon so to do, signed, descended from his bench, and came and talked with the
newly

newly married couple, to whom he promised the honour of assisting at their feast.

“ You see, my lord, that at present, every thing is very simple in our ceremonies ; no more mystery.” “ There is not sufficient, it is a necessary tie upon the common people ; they respect what they do not understand.” “ Your lordship will not be able to guess to what class of society the high priest of the late marriage belongs ; he is an actor, his name is Trial, he belongs to the comic opera, and his line of acting is the low comedy. “ Disgrace then,” said Lord B. “ is endeavored to be attached to the most holy ceremony.” “ But our players,” I answered, “ at present, like those of Athens, enjoy the same privileges as other men, and like them have a right to all offices.” “ I know,” he answered, “ that Aristomedeus was sent an ambassador to Philip, king of Macedon ; but I also know that the senate was blamed for sending on such a sacred function, a person that the public could hiss when they pleased ; and to shew the folly of it, Aristomedeus was hissed the first time that he appeared upon the stage after his return from his embassy.” “ You are there-

therefore not of opinion that actors ought to have public functions bestowed on them."

"Certainly not, I think it is as ridiculous to see a man fill the office of judge, or minister, in a morning, and act that of a robber or a knavish footman in the evening, as it was savage before the revolution to pretend that players ought to be excommunicated; you have restored to them the rights of citizens, you have done well; but you act wrongly in trusting places to them."

"Are we far from the Bastille," said Lord B. "within a quarter of a league." "I shall have great pleasure in beholding its ruins." Being arrived at the arsenal, we stopped in the garden and seated ourselves on a bench; this demolished fort presented nothing to our sight but a few remnants of its foundations, just sufficient to evince that an immense building had once existed there, and some heaps of rugged stones that were continually diminishing, to serve perhaps for the construction of pleasure houses; I imparted this reflection to the Englishman, and he was struck with it. "If we could make stones speak, as Ovid did," said he, "what a
number

number of important secrets could not these stones reveal ! It is only the historian that has to lament their want of speech ; for it would afflict us to learn that of which they could inform us.” “ This dreaded prison has buried many crimes.” “ And many talents ; Le Maitre de Sacy, a translator of the bible, was not he shut up there ? Buffi Rabatin performed penance there, for his compilation of scandalous anecdotes. Luxembourg has therein watered with his tears the laurels with which victory had covered him. Richelieu, shamefully indiscreet in his youth, came out of it, as he went, without repentance or amendment. La Tude, for having written some bad verses against Madam Pompadour, passed half his life there, in torments that ought only to be inflicted on criminals. To which add, that the Bastille has within its walls confined many Molinists and their adherents.” “ You say nothing,” said I, “ of that unfortunate person, who only seeing the brother in his King, gave him a blow to revenge the insults he had received ; and who was convinced, too late, that Kings and Monks

Monks are insensible to the ties of blood."

"That is one of the traditions relating to the man in the iron mask." "And yet there is no doubt of there having been such a person, although the veil of mystery has covered the truth in such a manner, that it has not been possible to trace him. I have told you that Louis XVI. was not able to discover any thing relating to him." "What is intended to be done with this spot of ground?" I answered, "That many plans were in agitation: Some wished it to remain a plain, others to raise a monument upon it; but that in my opinion nothing would be done." "I should incline for a monument," said Lord B. "for I think it to be as useful to perpetuate great misfortunes, as it is to preserve the remembrance of great events; if the latter are empty homages, the others will impress a living lesson." "Would you believe, my Lord, that in 1789 these stones served for ornaments to our Parisian females?" "In what manner?" "After the taking of the Bastille the women wore ear-rings and rings of pieces of these stones set in gold, they were called

called bijoux à la constitution, (trinkets à la constitution *.)

* All the arts were eager, in emulation of each other, to celebrate the taking of the Bastille; the chisel, the graving tool, the pencil, and the muses, were all employed above a year in immortalizing this event. Palloy, to whom the demolition was entrusted, caused little Bastilles to be carved upon some of the stones, and these he sent to every chief place in each department: He ordered medals to be struck from the iron chains, which he found in the dungeons, and these he distributed to the deputies; on one side of them was a pillar raised on the plain of the Bastille, having Liberty on its top, and round the edge were these words, "Liberty is raised upon the ruins of Despotism." On the rim, "To the great French nation, the third year of liberty." On the reverse, "Legislators, do not ever forget the oath which you took on the 1st of October, 1791, to support the constitution with all your might. This oath is repeated to you by Palloy, Patriot."

In the same year many pictures were exhibited in the hall of painting, representing different scenes of the taking of the Bastille; that of Mr. Barbier, in which was seen the grenadier Arné, hoisting the flag upon a tower of this fort, eclipsed Angivillers, the director of the academy of painting; he tried in vain to prevent it and a picture of David's, representing Brutus, being exhibited.

These little tricks, set on foot without the King's knowledge, did not prevent his being accused of them; the cry was this year particularly against him, because the editor of the almanack "des honnetes gens," (of worthies) had placed Brutus driving out Tarquin amongst the number of his great men.

The botanic garden, which presented itself to our view, tempted us to cross the water to visit it. Lord B. was astonished at the neat order in which it was kept, and at the rarities which it contained. I told him, that it had been neglected since the decease of Buffon, but that it was now in at least as good order as when he was alive. “Has any one succeeded to this historian of nature?” asked Lord B. “The great number of naturalists which France possesses occasions his death to be felt the less; no one, however, undertakes all those parts which were united in him.” “They are much in the right of it; Buffon, in undertaking to write on every thing, has committed several errors. Sauffure has found him defective in mineralogy. Bonnet proves him in the wrong in the history of animals. Dutremblay taxes him with errors in the polypus; finally, Tronchin asserts, that he is mistaken on the structure of the human frame. It is necessary to be well skilled in this study to decide who is in the right; and there then are many problems of which nature conceals the solutions from us, so difficult is it to penetrate into her secrets.”

“The

“The more I examine this collection of plants, brought from all parts of the world, the more I am astonished that they are only kept for curiosity and study. It appears to me, that from the moment that they can be brought to agree with our climate, the greatest part of them may be made useful; and that is the spring of economical principles. In France, where there are so many different climates, a part of the drugs used in physic and in the composition of colours, might certainly be raised.”

“Since the revolution tobacco has increased, and if its free culture had not been prohibited by the farmers-general, we should not at present see the mass of our specie annually diminish from ten to twelve millions, in order to purchase it at foreign markets; a double advantage presents itself in expending this sum on the cultivation of the article at home; the employing thousands of hands and the circulation of money in the interior of our country.” “This sneezing article is not the only object that is neglected in France; your silk manufactories are in the same situation, which is owing to the little attention that is given to the culture

of mulberry trees, and the breeding of the silk worms. If we had in England your climate, we should long since have deprived you of your silk trade." "Neither England nor France must pride themselves too much, they are both very far from being arrived at economical perfection. For instance, why instead of purchasing in India, manufactured muslins and cottons, do we not bring from thence the primary articles that they are composed of? we should benefit the working hand at home, which is the principal value of all merchandize. This would not prevent our introducing into our sheep-folds that sort of sheep whose wool is much finer than that of those we breed, and which might in a few years multiply sufficiently to occasion our not importing any wool; the purchase of which now drains the coffers of the state." "I know it, we are both children in economical speculation. The discovery of India and America ought to have a different effect than trade. During four centuries, that we have failed there, not one European government has conceived the idea, only to treat them as we do a tree which we return to no more after

we

we have gathered its fruit ; we should bring into Europe all the plants that should be found to agree with its climates, and then only visit those countries once in a year, to bring away the drugs and the fruits that we cannot cultivate. How many evils, how many crimes, and what a quantity of blood might have been saved by this means ! But the bait of sordid interest has formed those establishments, which have been the cause of the murderous wars that have depopulated both worlds, and which will continue to be so."

These economical dreams employed us until we came to the market place ; the particular noise, and the bitter words which are heard there in a morning, put an end to our conversation. " The first time that I came to Paris," said Lord B. " I desired to be acquainted with this part of its physiognomy, and it cost me a guinea to have a deal of nonsense repeated to me ; it cannot be denied that these market women have very particular expressions, it is quite a different language to that which is held in the other quarters of Paris ; grossly keen sallies of the vulgarest wit particularly distinguishes

them from the rest of the mob.” “It is not as it used to be; formerly gaiety and mirth were here the passports of double entendres; at present liberty is the protectress of the insinuations that are vented; formerly these fish women were energetically pleasant, now they are impertinent; examine them well, you see no more gaiety in their physiognomies.” “From whence does that proceed?” “Before the revolution, what they said was laughed at, they knew it, and claimed a privilege upon it; some of our deputies, to whom they had uttered some of their common witticisms, very foolishly took them amiss, and had some of them punished. Since which they have had as they say in their dialect, ‘la guele morte pour les risieres,’ (*their laughs have been dozed in in the mouth*), and they only talk to one another in very low voices, and when they drink their brandy. But as we are talking of women, have you a mind to attend the sitting of a female club? Let us go to that of Saint Eustace.” “Very readily.”

This meeting of the female society was held in a vaulted hall, formerly a charnel house;
facing

facing the door of entrance sat the presidentes and the secretaries ; there were two rows of benches on each side, for the members of the society, of whom I counted seventy ; there were no tribunes ; the auditors were confined to the bottom of the hall, and separated from the clubists by a wooden bar breast high ; the sitting was just begun when we entered ; before I give an account of it, I must mention that most of the women, and particularly the presidentes and the secretaries, wore the red cap ; with the utmost difficulty we could refrain from laughing at the droll appearance before us ; what passed in the sitting appeared to us so truly comical, that on leaving it, while the whole was fresh in our memory, we wrote it down ; the following is a copy of our notes.

Sitting of the Female Society, met in
the Charnel House of Saint Eustace's
Church.

Presidency of the Female Citizen La Combe.

After the reading of the verbal process, and that of the correspondence, the presidentes reminded them that the order of the day was re-

lating to the usefulness of women in a republican government, and invited those sisters who had studied the subject, to impart the information they had acquired to the society. To sister Monic* leave was given to speak, and from a paper she read as follows :

“ Since the time of the famous Deborah, who succeeded Moses and Joshua, unto the two sisters Fries, who fought so valiantly in our republican armies, not a century has passed that has not produced a female warrior; behold Thomyris, queen of the Scythians, who fought and vanquished the great Cyrus. The girl Marulla, who drove the Turks from Stylinene. Catherine Lisse who saved the town of Amiens. The woman Debarry who defended Laucate against Henry III. Joan of Arc who made the English fly before her, and shamefully raise

* Monic at that time kept a little mercer's shop in the little street du Rempart, and at present superintends a little wine-house at the end of the Champs Elysées; she has served as a spy to the committee of general safety, and as directress of the knitters (*tricoteuses*) at the Jacobins. The speech which she read is not a feigned one; it was given to her by the deputy Baire, who mentioned it to me. We shall again have occasion to speak of this woman.

raise the siege of Orleans, the name of which city is added to her own."

"Without thinking it necessary to give you the names of all those courageous warlike women, and which only would serve the more to expose the timidity of our sex by the excellent examples of the valour of some of them, I will call to your minds the masculine and warlike vigour of the colony of Amazons, whose existence female jealousy has caused to be doubted; I will tell you that danger did not frighten these new Romans from precipitating themselves into the midst of edged weapons, to stop the just vengeance of their former husbands. I will also mention to you the women of Aquila, who wove strings with their hair for the bows of their defenders; and lastly I will call to your minds the female citizens of Lisle, who at this moment brave the rage of their besiegers, and laughing, smother the bombs that are thrown into the town. What do these examples tend to, but to prove that women can train battalions, command armies, fight and conquer, as well as men? If you want more examples,

examples, I can cite Panthea, Ingonda, Clotida, Isabel, Margaret" &c. &c.

" But I will not stop here ; I will say to the men, who think themselves our masters, Who delivered Judea and Syria from the tyranny of Holofernes ? Judith !—To whom did Rome owe her liberty and her republic ? to two women. Who was it that gave the last lesson on courage to the Spartans ? their mothers and their wives, who, on delivering them their shields, said, " Return under them or above them."

" I hardly know why I dive into the dust of history to seek for feats of female valor, and proofs of women having devoted themselves to their country, while we have them in our revolution, and under our own eyes. In 1788, at the siege of the palace, the women exposed themselves to the brutality of the soldiers in the pay of the court, to assail them with a shower of stones. At the siege of the Bastille, women, who were only acquainted with fire-works, exposed themselves to the fire of the cannon and musketry from the ramparts,
to

to supply the besiegers with ammunition. It was a battalion of women, commanded by the brave Reine-Audu, who fetched the despot from Versailles, and brought him in triumph to Paris, after having fought with the life-guards, and obliged them to lay down their arms. And, notwithstanding the modesty of our presidentess, I must mention that on the 10th of August she marched boldly, at the head of a body of confederates, against the castle; she yet bears the marks of that day*.

“ If women are equal to the field of battle, they are not less so to the cabinet; how many of them have governed with glory! I am only puzzled in my choice of examples; Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards, subdued Agilalpus, and extinguished the religious wars that

* This is a fact; Made. La Combe, a pretty girl, gave herself up to all the excesses of the revolution; she quitted the theatre, came to Paris, got acquainted with the warmest patriots, and lived with one of them. On the 10th of August she appeared in an Amazonian dress, and demanded employment of Westerman; she was placed at the head of some men, and received a wound in the wrist. During the revolution, she was to be seen in every place, in the Assembly, at the Jacobins, &c. She founded and directed the female society we are speaking of.

that ravaged her country. It is well known that Semiramis was a dove in the cabinet, and an eagle in the field. Isabel of Spain reigned with great glory : it was a woman who patronised the discovery of the new world. In our days, Catherine of Russia, accomplished that of which Peter had only formed the plan. But I will go still further, I will maintain that when men hold the reins of government, that they are set in motion, and directed by women ; the examples to prove it are more numerous than the exceptions against it. Augustus proposed nothing to the Roman senate without having consulted Livia. But without diving into the histories of other countries, let us be satisfied with keeping to our own. The beautiful Ferroniere governed Francis I. Henry II. Charles the IXth, and Henry III. governed solely by the counsels of Catherine de Medicis. The handsome Gabrielle caused Henry IV. to commit many errors. Madam de Pompadour governed him who governed France, and lastly the courtesan Du Barry, who was only a doll herself, made a puppet of Louis XV. I have thus proved that in all times governments have
been

been directed by women ; from which it is to be concluded that they are worthy to govern, I had almost said, more worthy than men. Under the despotism of kings we could not allow ourselves to make these reflections, but under a republican government the case is altered. I shall draw no further consequence from what I have said, than that I demand that the society shall in its wisdom examine what rank women ought to hold in the republic, and whether they ought still to be excluded from all its places and administrations."

This speech, often interrupted, finished by being crowned with violent applauses ; nothing could appear more ridiculous than to hear passages from history delivered by a woman, who bolted out every word, with an assurance difficult to be described. This clapping of hands was followed by a long murmur of voices, through which some words reached us, and some proposals, of which the last were more ridiculous than the first. One proposed to raise an army of 30,000 women, and that the girls of the town should be obliged to join them ; another, that women should be admitted into every

every part of the administration. At last after half an hour's debate, it was resolved to present a petition to the Convention, praying that a decree might be issued to oblige all women to wear the national cockade.

We were going to retire, when we heard one of the clubists desire leave to speak, in order to make a new proposition. "Let us remain here," said Lord B. "I am too much amused to leave this place."

Olympia de Gouges spoke as follows :

"In admiring what sister Monic has just now told us, it appears to me that she has omitted some essential propositions, which I shall point out to you. It is not by the ascendancy of women that empires are governed, but it may be advanced without any fear of being contradicted, that by them every spring is set in motion. Who is it that arrests or inflames the courage of the warrior? Consider Omphale, Delilah, Armida. If the Supreme Being created the soul of man, he left to woman the care of animating it. Mind the maiden how she dictates to her submissive lover such laws as she pleases; according to her will, he becomes either

ther a hero or a coward, a virtuous or a criminal man. The isolated man is our slave, it is only when men are united in a mass, that they lord it over us. The great fault that our sex has committed, is to have submitted to this degrading custom, on which only is built the ascendancy of man; but let us take advantage of our difference of dress to obtain some distinction. This is my idea; if there are to be no more processions, there will necessarily be some publick fetes; let the direction and management thereof be given to us. A beautiful woman for example, unto whom, at the head of a croud of citizens, it is given in charge to excite the young men to fly to the defence of their country, will say to one of them, "Depart, and at your return the hand of your mistress shall be the reward of your exploits." He who hesitates to fight the enemy, will hear her pronounce these words, "Stay at home, if you will, pusillanimous being, but do not expect ever to be united to your mistress; she has taken an oath to refuse the vows of one who is useless to his country. The art that we possess of awakening the passions of man, will produce

produce the salutary effect of animating the souls of them all. Nothing will resist our seductive tongue. The warrior will be happy to receive his laurels from the hand of beauty. The young married couple will believe their bonds to be better assorted, if they are formed by the hands of a woman. Let us demand to direct the feasts and the marriages, and to be alone entrusted with the education of youth. This is the more easy to be granted, as the priests who had (I know not why) this privilege, no longer exist; it is for us to supply their place, and to establish the religion of the true Sans-culottes.

The last word occasioned violent laughter. The discussion of these interesting subjects were deferred to another sitting, and we came out with the crowd.

“Allow,” said the Englishman, “that these extravagancies are very amusing.” “I do allow it, but when I reflect, the delirium of these women gives me many fears; you know the infatuation of the sex, if their heads grow warm, they are capable of committing excesses.” “Your nation,” said Lord B. “is
in

in possession of the remedy, the arms of ridicule and quizzing, which she so well knows how to wield, would soon destroy these foolish ideas. Among the ridiculous proposals that we have just now heard, it must be allowed that there are some not ill-founded. It is certain that our manners give the women much influence in the state. It cannot be disavowed that they are the most active spring in society, the common centre to which all the passions of men are drawn, and that it is they who fix honour, interest, love, taste, and opinions: it is therefore an absolute contradiction, to hold them in no estimation in the code of our laws." "I allow this contradiction, but you will agree with me that it is fully justified, by that general and consequently dangerous ascendancy, which you acknowledge in the sex." "That is true, but it appears to me that they might be made useful, without being entirely confined to household affairs; suppose they were held up as the reward of great actions, I make no doubt but that the men would exert themselves to the utmost of their powers, to deserve their esteem and their favours." "I am of the

same opinion; but we are grown old in the track we are in, and we should forget them in our new laws, for no other reason than that the legislators of old took no notice of them, and that custom, more powerful than reason, renders innovations in this delicate point very difficult; besides, where is the man that is bold enough to attempt any novelty of this kind?"

"Your revolution has made a very great change in political speculations." "It is this great alteration that will prevent the true philosopher from starting a new subject of discord, in presenting a plan to give to women a situation in the government. They are sufficiently powerful by the ascendancy that they have over us; let us leave them with the empire of the graces and beauty."

We were now got to the place where the commissary appointed to meet us; we went in, and found a man making an inventory of the court carriages. "You will not see any thing curious here," said the commissary, "except the carriage that was used for the journey to Varennes; examine it, it is a small travelling house; here is a kind of larder; there is a furnace

nace to warm meat or broth ; raise this double floor, and you have a dining table ; in taking the cushion from this seat, you have a wardrobe ; only a bed is wanting ; nothing can be more ingeniously contrived than this carriage is. If you are desirous of seeing the queen's sledges, come this way ; she greatly preferred that one which represents a peacock : we are in a hurry to make an inventory of them, as they are going to be sold to a northern court."

" I see no horses ; what is become of those belonging to the court ?" asked Lord B. " They are in the service of our ministers, our generals, and our representatives in missions." " How many had the king ?" " I cannot tell you exactly ; he diminished the number every year, so that it is a long time since it was known exactly, but I can assure you, that he had more than Louis XIV. and less than Louis XV." " I confess to you that I never knew the number that either of them kept." " Louis XIV. in his greatest splendor, had never more than seven hundred, whereas Louis XV. had three thousand and eight hundred." " This is enormous." " It is right

to add, that he soon made a reform of eight hundred." "What an expence!" "M. Orry, the comptroller-general, assured me at the time, that the purchase and maintenance of the horses, including what the equerries, riding-masters, and grooms cost, amounted to nine millions a year; to which add the charge of post horses, which were always made use of on journeys*. I must also observe to you, that besides the king's horses, the queen and the dauphin had their's." "What strange management!" "What was worse, nobody was paid; M. de Machault was obliged to borrow two millions to pay the grooms, to whom two years wages were due, and whose children were obliged to beg alms." "It is incredible."

"Don't you see a small house at the bottom of the court facing us?" "Yes." "Do you know who it is that is going in there?" "It is the Duke of Orleans, and no doubt upon an intrigue

* M. de Méteyer, treasurer to M. d'Orleans, the father of him who had his head cut off, told me, that it cost the duke fifty thousand livres a year for post horses, to visit his estates and to follow the court, notwithstanding he kept horses for thirteen carriages.

intrigue.” “Not it indeed; a masons’ lodge is held there to-day.” “I thought,” said Lord B. “that since the revolution, all these associations were dissolved.” “It is true that most of them are, but this one meets sometimes, and only admits to it the initiated to certain degrees.” “I have heard it said, that there are degrees to which only persons well known are initiated; but I confess that although I am a mason, I do not know what they are. The chevalier Folard is the only one who informed me of it; he said, that the high degrees of masonry have for their motto, ‘*Enemies of worship and of kings.*’ The springs of this association are so fine, that they are imperceptible; their policy is admirable, and the European powers must have bad glasses not to be able to foresee the storm with which this sect threatens them.” He added, “I am very sorry that I was not born thirty years later.” “It appears,” said I, “that he foretold our revolution, which it is said that the freemasons set in motion.” “What is very particular,” he returned, “is, that the major part of your first patriots are members of it; add to which, that

your popular societies are an emanation from the lodges of the freemasons, in like manner as these proceeded from the funeral pile of the Templars." "I will relate to you what a person initiated into the secrets of the order has revealed, without being afraid of exposing himself to the poniard with which he is threatened. He even intends to have these horrid particulars printed, to render a good office to humanity."

"There are in Europe four principal lodges, which are called *Mother lodges*; at Naples, for the East; at Edinburgh for the West; at Stockholm for the North; and at Paris for the South."

"The oath which every member takes, is the extermination of the race of Capet, and the destruction of the papal power; by this oath he also engages to preach the liberty of the people and to found an universal republic*."

The

* Clotts, the Prussian, who was the boldest of the associates of these dangerous illuminati, held forth in his writings, and in the tribunes, the establishment of an universal republic. The oath to destroy papal power and the race of the Capets, sufficiently proves that the end of this
dark

The founders of this association, in order to find out, and to admit only such men as they could depend upon, established the freemasons lodges, under the denominations of Saint John and Saint Andrew ; the customs of these lodges, without a secret, served merely as a trial and to make known to the true brothers such men as were fit for the grand conspiracy. These preparatory lodges, of which the apparent design is benevolence, and a fraternal bond between different men, have had among their mem-

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bers

dark association was to revenge the destruction of the Templars by Philip Le Bel and Clement V. Among the members of this society in these latter times, there are known to have been Diderot, who said, that the human race would never be happy until the last of the kings was strangled with the entrails of the last pope ; Billaud de Varennes, Romme, Rulh, all deputies of the convention ; and also D'Orleans. It is said, that amongst the trials that this latter was obliged to undergo at his reception, he was conducted, with a poniard in his hand, before a living being, dressed in all the outward marks of royalty, which he was ordered to stab, which he performed, and at the same time promised to do the like to all kings. When he saw the blood spout out of the wound, he fainted ; this moment was seized to withdraw this representation of a king, which was only a sheep. It is also said that Ancart-tron, who assassinated Gustavus, was a member of this infernal sect.

bers all sorts of men, virtuous, and vicious, nay even criminals, they are all mixed together.”

“The true templars did not hold lodges, only chapters, of which there are four in every town, each composed of 27 members *, when they go to a masonic lodge, they wear, in order to know each other, a gold ring with a red enamel, and in cases of danger, a cross of Malta, made of scarlet cloth, on the breast. In the lodges they only have the right to walk across the middle of the parquet, which is opposite to the throne ; the freemasons do not know who they are †.”

“When the illuminati discover in the masonic lodges, any one who has the sentiments and character proper for their views, they found him

* Jacques Molat mentions the towns and the chapters ; the word of order, or pass word of the members is, *Jachin Boaz, Mach Benach, Adonai 1314*, the initial letters of which indicate their true meaning, *Jacobus Burgundus Molai beat. anno 1314*. The sacramental words of the association are, *Kadosch*, which means regenerator ; *Nekom*, vengeance ; *Paul Kal Pharas Kal*, who puts the profane to death. When they accost each other in the chapters, they take hands as if they were going to stab themselves.

† The secret and abridged history of the association may be consulted on this subject.

him and prepare him for initiation; if the novice, upon the faith of the revelation made to him, accepts, he is admitted to the trials, of which the following is a sketch."

"The recipient is conducted along a dark passage into an immense large hall, of which the ceiling, the floor and the walls, are covered with black cloth, upon which are represented red flames and hissing snakes. Three sepulchral lamps emit at intervals a dying light, by which the remains of some dead bodies tied up in funeral crapes, are scarcely distinguishable. In the midst of this dismal apartment is a heap of skeletons, forming a kind of altar, on the side of which some books are laid, some of them contain threats against those who perjure themselves, others the fatal history of the vengeance of the invisible spirit, and the infernal invocations that are for a long time pronounced in vain."

"For eight hours together the recipient is left alone in this hall, at the expiration of which several phantoms drawing after them mortuary veils, slowly cross the hall, and then sink under ground, leaving a fetid smell behind them, no
noise

noise attends their descent, nor is the working of the traps that assist them heard."

"The recipient is left thus for twenty-four hours in a chilling silence in this dark apartment; melancholy reflections, the result of his situation, and a rigid fast, awaken his imagination. At his feet are placed three cups, containing a greenish liquor; thirst causes him to raise them to his lips, and an involuntary fear repels them: he can no longer resist the cravings of a scorching drought; he drinks, and he is almost deprived of his senses.'

"Two men who might be taken for the ministers of death, enter; they approach the recipient without speaking one word; they bind round his head a yellow ribband, dyed with blood, on which are silver characters, and the portrait of our lady of Loretto; a brass crucifix two inches long is put into his hands*. About
his

* It certainly appears very inconsistent that in these mystical ceremonies, the objects of the worship of the catholics should be employed in the receptions. What has a lutheran or a hugenot to do with the image of our lady of Loretto, or even with that of Christ crucified? They make no impression upon him, and he can safely swear upon the cross or the gospel,

his neck are hung several sorts of amulets, covered with a violet cloth ; he is stripped of his clothes, which two serving brothers place on a pile of wood at the end of the hall ; upon his naked body several crosses are made with blood, and a being dressed in white, ties a red and scarlet coloured twist above his private parts."

" In this state of suffering and humiliation, he sees five phantoms covered with cloths dropping with blood, and armed with broad swords, approach him with great strides, their faces are veiled, they spread a carpet upon the floor, kneel down upon it, pray to God, with their hands crossed upon their breasts ; they then in a deep silence fall prostrate with their faces upon the ground ; an hour is passed in this painful attitude. After this fatiguing trial plaintive sounds are heard ; the pile of wood begins to
burn

pel, without any fear of being called upon by these images, if he chooses to break his oath. Besides which, has not he, who associates with murderers, trodden under foot divine and human laws ?—There can be no doubt but that Morlai, when he prescribed this custom, only considered it as a simple formality, a mere filling up. Without he chose to make use of our religion, as the one that presents the most alarming ideas."

burn, but only casts a pale light, the clothes of the recipient are consumed, and from the middle of this pile, a colossal and almost transparent figure arises; at the sight of him the five men, who were prostrate on the earth, fall into most dreadful convulsions."

"Then a trembling voice speaks from above, and articulates the form of the execrable oaths that the recipient must take; they cause nature to shudder, listen to them."

"In the name of the Son crucified, swear to break the carnal bonds that attach you to father, mother, brothers, sisters, wife, relations, friends, mistresses, kings, chiefs, benefactors, and every one to whom you have promised faith, obedience, gratitude, or service."

"Call the place where you were born, in order to exist in another sphere, unto which you will not arrive before you have quitted this pestilential globe, the vile refuse of the heavens."

"From this instant you are free from the pretended oath made to your country and its laws."

"Swear

“Swear to reveal to the new chief that you acknowledge all that you have seen or done, imbibed, heard or read, learned or conjectured; and to make diligent search for, and to spy out that which does not appear clear to you.”

“Honour and respect *l’aqua-tophana*, as a certain, ready, and necessary means to purge the globe by death, or by stupefaction of those who seek to disgrace the truth, or to wrest it from our hands.”

“Avoid Spain, avoid Naples, avoid all cursed land; and lastly, avoid the temptation to reveal what you now hear, for the lightening is not swifter than the knife that will in that case reach you, in whatever place you may be.”

“If the recipient, stung by his conscience, refuses to take the infernal oath, a poisonous beverage soon deprives him of the light, and of his life; but if he submits, a candlestick in which are seven candles of black wax, is set before him, and at his feet a vase filled with human blood, in which they wash his body; he drinks half a glass of it, and then pronounces the fatal words. His private
parts

parts are then untied, a cold sweat runs down his livid cheeks, his tottering limbs can hardly support him ; the brethren prostrate themselves, and he, trembling under a kind of delirium, waits his destiny. His situation is like to that of a villain, who has just committed a murder : such was Orestes in withdrawing the knife from the entrails of his mother."

To this narrative, which congealed us with horror, the commissary added : " I have been assured that in the first days of the revolution, many initiations were made at the palace of the duke of Orleans, and that the principal proselytes who were initiated at the palace into this abominable sect, are, Au Prince, Marat, Herault-Sechelles, Danton, and Fabre D'Eglantine ; I am even in my own mind persuaded that the meeting which is now held at the house you see, is only composed of these conspirators, and that their purpose is, to determine there on the means for depriving the king of his life. Only look, Dubois-Crancé and Le Pétietier are now going in."

" Unfortunate monarch !" would they then spill your blood to revenge a crime committed

mitted by one of your ancestors five centuries before your reign ! Oh ! that the thunder might at this moment pulverize this assembly of monsters, perhaps you might then be saved." Such were the wishes of Lord B. in desiring us to leave this receptacle of crimes.

As we were passing by the hotel of the minister of the finances, the commissary said that he had some business in the offices, and engaged us to accompany him, which we did ; the apartments that we passed through were crowded with clerks at work. " By so many hands a great deal of work must be done," said the Englishman. " Just the contrary," the commissary replied, " if you except some of the old standers, those you see here, have got into service within the last month, they are the relations, the friends, and even the hair-dressers of the deputies." " What, hair-dressers ! you are certainly joking." " No, I am not ; there is one whose name is Calvet, at the further end of this apartment, who shaved me the day before yesterday ; he told me that he was appointed to be one of the first clerks in the offices of the
finance,

finance, and he spoke the truth ; he writes a woman's hand, and knows nothing of spelling, but he is a republican, and got the place by proving, that on the 10th of August he fought against the Swifs." "What work can he do?"

"None: he relates his exploits, mends his pen as well as he can, informs against those clerks who do not think as he does, and receives his wages at the end of the month."

"But then, who transacts the business?" "The small number of old clerks that they have found themselves under the necessity of keeping." "They cannot be sufficient?" "You are right, and for this reason, every thing is behind hand and in the greatest disorder ; sometimes we cannot even find the papers that we have delivered." "Is it the same in every department of the government?" "Just the same." "This is a new vice that will ruin the administration, it ought to be done away."

"Nothing can be so just, and to appearance, more easy, and nevertheless impracticable."

"How so?" "A deputy arrives in Paris with his son, whom he wishes to fix in some place ;

he

he addresses himself immediately to the heads of the offices of the national assembly, who tell him that they already have as many again as they can employ. The deputy complains to one of his colleagues that he cannot get a place for his son; his friend answers, "Leave him to me, I will make it my business; where do you wish to have him placed?" The father mentioned where; the officious colleague takes the young man to the offices, and says to the head of one of them, "Here is a young workman that I present to you," and without waiting for an answer, he tells the young man to take a seat, and orders pen, ink, and paper, &c. to be given him, and leaves him after having thus installed him. I know those who have been thus placed for several months, and who are only seen on pay days. The administrator dares not complain; the deprivation of his own office would be the least misfortune that would attend him." "You are thus your own enemies; if this continues, you will ruin yourselves."

"In the following room thirty persons were

ployed in signing assignats*.” “These gentlemen must certainly be very well known, that they

* In the most extraordinary events self interest is never at a loss, it will even speculate in the midst of the ruins of the universe; it suggested in 1793, to two tradesmen of Lyons, an idea of manufacturing silk assignats, and they requested to be favored with the patent for them: in order to obtain it they made several models; one for assignats of five hundred livres was $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth, by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, on it was the tree of liberty, with the red cap above it, and a stamp representing the God of commerce, with these words, “*Liberté sous la loi,*” (Liberty under the law.) A model $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches square for assignats of one hundred livres, had in its centre a stamp representing a Caduceus, with the cap of liberty above it, with this motto, “*Autorisé par la loi pour circuler dant toute la France.*” (by law authorised to circulate throughout France): And lastly a model $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches square for the assignats of ten sols. The ground of all these models was white, with a double border of red and blue. Observe, that nothing was forgotten; these two fools, for you cannot give them any other name, had several patterns knitted like to their silk stockings. They addressed themselves to the committee of finances of the convention, in a long memorial, in which they pretended to prove that these singular assignats had a double advantage over the paper ones; that of costing less, and that of not being so subject to be torn in long circulation. It is not to be supposed that this invention had many patrons, it remained buried in the port-folios of the committee. I have forgotten the names of these two manufacturers, but I am in possession of one of the models, which I am willing to show to any one who doubts the fact.

they are allowed to sign your paper money."

"Not much, those who wish to be employed, come here to get themselves enrolled. When a place is vacant, he seats himself at a table, and assignats are delivered to him which he signs, and for which he is paid at so much for every hundred. The quickest writer, and he whose name is the shortest, earns the most; there sits one whose name consists of only four letters, he earns fifteen francs in a morning."

"According to what you say, the signatures are purely a matter of form." "By omitting them the republic would save a great deal."

"Why then it is a mere trick." "That cannot be denied." "This place inspires, and urges me to speak of the finances. Can you tell me what is your actual system of *finance*?"

"Not in the least, and I believe, that Cambon who directs them, would be puzzled to explain it to you. To create assignats as they are wanted, the same as Necker created loans, is the whole secret of our finances." "But the great omission of this paper may bring on a bankruptcy." "That is my opinion; and then we shall come to our end as Cato

did to his, die in tearing out his own bowels."

"I will confess to you, that during this reign I have not seen a statesman; have all those that have appeared taken any pains to know the state of France? Have they calculated her resources, her wants, and what they could draw from them, and what they ought to furnish? Have they been employed to find out what the past has produced, and what the future might produce; and what the climate favors, and what it does not favor? No! it is however after a man has well digested this study, that his work ought to begin; it is then only that he can rouse laziness, encourage zeal, assist weakness, in a word, give life and activity to all the productive springs of the country. Not one of them has forgotten to make his fortune, nor has been known to sacrifice his privileges; I also cannot help saying that ambition and pride have been the principal movers of the actions of our ministers, whether I offend Necker himself, or not."

"You have mentioned Necker, this leads me to ask you, which man amongst those who have had the direction of the finances under
Louis

Louis XVI. has managed the best?" "He who was the shortest time in place." "That is answering with a joke; but I will try to force you to give me a direct answer; what do you think of Turgot?" "That he treated the wound of the state, as the physicians do the diseases of men, they do not cure them, but they make them easy, comfort and refresh them, and give them encouragement to hope; with these palliatives they live as long as they can. Turgot by his economical system, only occupied himself about the people, and only laboured to enrich them; and as it is not possible that the people can be rich, without the king being so too, I look upon his plan to be the best that we have had in this reign."

"Did not Necker do the same?"

"Far from it, he thought he had done every thing in augmenting the taxes; his great secret was to make the world believe he had one; that he had his hands full of economical truths, which he would not open, until the nation was ready to receive them with respect. In the mean while he did nothing but lay down erroneous principles from which he drew absurd

clusions, which served him to establish fallacious promises upon. Proud and systematic, he lost himself by endeavouring to reduce the other members of the financial administration to mere cyphers."

"You must allow that all your directors of the finances have been much perplexed; the opinion of the French nation has decidedly been in favor of economy, and your statesmen have been obliged to tread in this path, particularly if they courted fame."

"You are in the right, but why seek fame in preference to the good of the state? It is exactly what Necker did, and consequently his great fault.

"He knew that the path of systems is easy and expeditious, and that it dazzles the Frenchman, who never gives himself the trouble to search into any thing; also he forsook that of truth, which *he* found rugged, slow, and laborious; it is true, that the steps in her path are only made one at a time, and that it is necessary often to look behind us, to gather up that which we may have forgotten."

"In speaking to you of Necker, it had nearly
escaped

escaped me to tell you that he had influence in the cabinet, before he got into the ministry; he attached himself to Maurepas, and made a point of gaining his confidence; it was he, you know, who directed every thing; the old mentor loved to be flattered, and the Genevian did not spare incense. I read this sentence in one of his letters, "To conclude, whether it be as president of the council of finances, which renders you responsible; whether it be as the intimate counsellor of our master; whether it be as a minister of *consummate prudence*; whether it be as a man of *parts and of influence*, is it possible to resist you in such a good cause?" You, Sir, will say to me to what does this paragraph refer; Necker, with the ambition to govern the finances alone, was very sensible that his two-fold character of plebeian and protestant was an insurmountable obstacle to his views. He sought and found the means to overcome it. As soon as he was assured of the prepossession of Maurepas in his favor, he proposed to him to divide the functions of comptroller-general of the finances. He wrote to him, "It matters not

whether I am placed there as being of some consequence, or not ; I believe this measure essential to the public good, were it only for the exposition that I have made of the state of the finances, which upon appearances only might make against me." What modesty ! Afterwards treating upon the business of the office," he says, " that there is nothing to be done, but to leave things as they are, until the affairs relating to money and credit have been examined into ; reasonable amendments may be made, and the most important abuses selected in order to be remedied." " The time is come," he adds, " to have a surplus of ten or twenty millions, and a credit of forty to fifty millions. There is only wanting to fill this place a man of good reputation, whose mind is free from knavery and double dealing." He wanted nothing more than to point out those who ought to fill the place, and this is what he did. After having said that no more than common abilities are requisite in a comptroller-general, he appears to be afraid of not finding a proper person. He then after having run over several names and their characters, speaks

speaks slightly of M. Le Noir, and excludes him at the same time on pretext that Maurepas wants him for the police ; at the time that he mentions M. de Tourqueux as a very honest man, he insinuates that he is to be feared as an economist. M. de la Michaudiore, for form's sake, he next names, for he adds, that he does not know him. Lastly, he speaks with so much praise in favor of M. Taboureau, and dwells with such complacency on his abilities, that his desire of having him for his second, strikes you immediately ; he resists the dislike that might be conceived against him on account of his being intimately connected with a man of a hotheaded and restless character, by saying " that no mind is fired, but that which inclines to be so, and of which age has not ripened the sentiments and the habits." And he adds, " Besides which, what can all the fire-brands in the world do against you and *me*, who are united by reason ? I promise you that as to myself I will have all that firmness and resistance that you would wish me to have. But it would be very extraordinary if I could not live with a person of your choosing, let it be whom

whom it might." "What wheedling! It was Necker then who caused Taboureaux to be named?" "There is every reason to believe it."

Maurepas had exacted from Necker the greatest secrecy upon this transaction, but as at court walls have eyes and ears, it got wind. The old minister reproached the Genevian with having divulged it; he exculpated himself by saying, that it was M. Dargentail who had spread the report at Madame du Duffant's, and had added that it was himself who had been appointed to divide the comptrollership with M. D'Amecourt. Embracing this opportunity for speaking of himself, he concludes his letter with these words:—"What I wish for above every thing is, that you would fix upon some one that loves you, because this sensation will be an unfailing point of union. *I also wish that it may be me that you love the most.*"—"Is it possible to bring one'self forward with greater insolence." "This is what I had almost forgotten to mention to you about Necker."

"Calonne followed; he made his appearance as a petit-maitre and a hero-courtier. The creditors of the state trembled at the sight of him.

him. The first orders, which he proposed to make liable to the taxes, leagued against him. In order not to expose himself to the disgust attending a new system, he conceived the idea of calling an assembly of the Notables.* “ I said to myself when I saw this assembly, France is saved ; for one hundred and fifty-two persons are certainly worth a Colbert.” “ By no means ; neither the one hundred and fifty-two notables, nor the twelve hundred constituent deputies † have

* The Notables here mentioned, were the citizens chosen agreeably to the constitution of 1791, to represent a commune ; a commune is an arrondissement or circle, of which a district is composed. (Translator.)

† The assembly of the Notables was composed of seven princes of the blood ; fifteen archbishops and bishops ; thirty-eight titled men ; twelve old ministers or counsellors of state, all of them except two of the two first orders of the state ; a civil lieutenant, and twenty-five municipal chiefs of towns, all of whom except about four or five, were noble or ennobled.

The national constituent assembly was composed of—

CLERGY.

Forty-eight archbishops and bishops	48
Thirty-five abbots, canons and prebendaries	35
Two hundred and five priests, having each a living ...	205
Three monks	3
	<hr/>
Together	291
	<hr/>

NOBILITY.

have been able to retrieve a deficiency of fifty-six millions under the most economical of kings, while Colbert, with a deficiency of only forty-eight

NOBILITY.

Two hundred and forty-two gentlemen, one of whom	
was a prince of the blood	242
Twenty-eight magistrates of the superior courts.....	28
	<hr/>
Together	270
	<hr/>

ESTATE. (TIERS ETAT.)

Two priests	2
Twelve gentlemen	12
Eight monks or consuls	8
One hundred and sixty two magistrates	162
Two hundred and twelve advocates (counsellors)	212
Sixteen physicians	16
One hundred and seventy-six merchants and cultivators	176
	<hr/>
Together	588
	<hr/>

Formerly the Tiers-Etat paid the expences occasioned by the meeting of the states. In 1485, the chancellor of Charles VIII. invited the clergy and the nobility to excuse them from a part of the charges, “*through pity for the poor people.*”

In those times the tiers-etat appeared very indifferent about assisting at the meeting of the states-general; nothing was debated there but subsidies, the finances, the taxes laid on them, and the quarrels of the great and of sovereigns. The ignorance in which the common people then were, and the distances, which were then looked upon in a serious light,

eight millions, supported the most pompous of sovereigns.*

I shall

light, on account of the badness of the roads, concurred in keeping them away.

In 1614, in the meeting of the states held in the reign of Louis XIII. the tiers-etat for the first time, made profession of a singular faith; they therein declared that the king held his crown from God alone; that no spiritual or temporal power had any right upon his kingdom; that it is impious to say or to write that it is lawful to kill or depose kings, that they may be rebelled against, or that the yoke of obedience to them may be shaken off; and that the fundamental law of the kingdom holds the person of the king holy and inviolable.

What a contrast to the profession of faith of the tiers-etat in 1789, and particularly with this principle, "That insurrection is the most holy of duties."

In the said meeting of the states in 1614, the nobility complained to the king, that the tiers-etat pretended to be of the same blood with the two first orders. The Baron de Senecy who presided, said to the king, "I am ashamed first, to mention to you the words which have again offended us; the tiers-etat compares your kingdom to a family in which there are three brothers, of which they say the ecclesiastical order is the eldest; we, the second; and they, the youngest."

This is very different language to what the nobles held in the states in 1789, when they solicited to be placed amongst the tiers-etat.

* After the war, France had new debts to the amount of seven hundred and thirty-three millions, added to twenty-four

I shall say nothing to you of Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse; you know that he, during his short ministry, did more harm than all the ministers who had preceded him. He browbeat principles and men; he drained the resources, exposed the authority of the king, and alienated the love of the people from him. The proposition that he made to create paper to pay the creditors of the state, was what completely loaded him with public indignation. His extravagant operations set in motion our revolution."

"One thing I have never been able to understand properly," said Lord B. "whenever the chief of the finances has been spoken of, I have sometimes heard him called the director, and at other times the comptroller or minister of the finances; I at first thought that they
were

four millions, when Turgot went out of place; Necker borrowed four hundred and sixty millions; Fleury, two hundred millions; D'Ormeson, seventy-three millions; Calonne, in 1784, one hundred and twenty-five; and in the years 1786 and 1787, seventy millions.

The deficiency at the retreat of the Abbé Terrai, was 25,080,000 livres; Turgot reduced it to twenty-four millions, but it has constantly increased since Necker came into the finances.

were three different persons, but I have since found out that it is only one person; will you be so kind as to explain to me why you give these three denominations to the same man?"

"Do you desire to know the historical part of the office of finances?" "Very much." "It is as follows."

DECREEE of Philip le Bel, of the 3d January,
1316.

The first officer of the finances known in the kingdom, was originally the mayor of Paris, who had under him a royal treasurer.

The king's treasurer was afterwards called the king's treasurer at the temple, as the cash was kept there. There were afterwards two treasurers, and a little after that three; the first was called the sovereign of the treasurers.

It was nearly at this time that the function of the comptroller-general began; he was then called the clerk of the treasure; he kept a book which he daily carried to the sovereign of the treasurers. In this book was written the quantity and the quality of the monies he received.

The

The function of clerk of the treasure approached to that of the comptroller-general of the finances, with however this essential difference, that he had not the inspection of the extraordinary payments; for these there were separate treasurers.

The clerk of the treasure became a common officer as soon as a comptroller-general was established.

The comptroller-general was not really at the head of the finances before 1661, at which time the office of sur-intendant was suppressed.

I will give you the names of the different offices to which the administration of the finances has successively belonged.

SUR-INTENDANT OF THE FINANCES.

Many pretend that this place has constantly existed since the time of Enguerrand de Marigny, Count of Longueville, on whom it was conferred in 1315, until 1661, when it was suppressed on account of M. Fouquet, Marquis of Belle-Isle.

Many records state, that the office of grand-treasurer was not dropped before the tragical death

death of John De Montaigu in 1409, and that then was created the office of grand sovereign-general; governor of the finances; it was under this title that Lewis of France, Dauphin of Viennois, came into the finances in 1414, after Peter des Effarts.

Henry of Marle, first president of the parliament and chancellor of France, had this office; after him it was given to Juvenal des Ursins, chancellor of the Duke of Guienne, the king's eldest son. The Duke of Guienne held it alone in 1424, and after him Lewis of Luxemburg was in possession of it. After him began the office of intendants of the finances under a sur-intendant.

John of Samblancay, was the first in 1518, and after him the persons the best qualified from among the first magistrates, the great lords, the marshals of France, the dukes, and the cardinals; and even princes have been at the head of the finances.

The office of sur-intendant of the finances was suppressed in 1549, and afterwards re-established. In 1594, it was suppressed again, and a council was formed of eight intendants

comptrollers-general of the finances. But in 1596, this office was re-established in favor of the Marquis of Rosny, afterwards Duke of Sully.

In 1661, it was entirely done away, as I have before mentioned; since which time the chief authority and administration has been almost always annexed to the post of comptroller-general of the finances, which had only been held by M. de Sully.

COMPTROLLER-GENERAL OF THE FINANCES.

Memorial of the chamber of accounts,
endorsed H. folio 122.

The first mention made of a plan in the finances under the name of comptroller-general, is in 1419.

It appears that on the eighth of August, two masters of accounts were appointed comptrollers-general of all the finances; under Charles VII. Stephen Chevalier is mentioned under this title.

It was, however, not before 1568, that this place became dignified; William of Marillac, appointed comptroller-general of the finances,
took

took the title of counsellor, and in the following year he had the title of intendant of the finances.

The office of comptroller-general was suppressed in 1573, and united to those of the intendants of the finances. In 1574, the four intendants of the finances took the title of comptrollers-general. In 1629, Messieurs Chevri, Sablet, Malier, and Duhouffay, intendants of the finances, took by turns with M. de Castille, the comptrollership-general. Chevri had it alone in 1633, and he was succeeded by Corbinelli.

In 1637, there were four comptrollers-general. In 1641, there were twelve intendants of the finances. M. James Tubeuf held one of the places of intendant of the finances, with that of comptroller-general.

It was in 1643, that the comptrollership-general was fully re-established in title, with an oath, fitting, and a vote, in the chamber of accounts.

At the death of the Cardinal Mazarin, there were two comptrollers-general, two intendants, and one sur-intendant of the finances.

M. Colbert governed the finances as intendant, until the 15th April, 1663, when he took the title of comptroller-general. The king reimbursed the two comptrollers-general, to make Colbert, solely, comptroller-general, and assigned to this title the place of counsellor to the royal council of the finances.

In June, 1701, under De Chamillard, two directors-general of the finances were created, with the right of entrance, and to make reports to the royal council; but in subordination to the comptroller-general, to whom they were obliged to give an account of the business they had to make a report of. They were suppressed in 1708.

From 1715 unto 1718, the finances were governed by the council of finances; the duties of the comptroller-general were performed by the two keepers of the register of the comptrol-general, by virtue of an additional power given them, the 15th September, 1715; and in 1719, a third person was united with them.

M. d'Argenson, keeper of the seals, solely conducted the finances in 1718. It cannot be asserted that he took the title of comptroller-general of the finances.

The

The office of comptroller-general was given to John Law, who on the 7th January, 1720, took the oaths before the chancellor; but as he had not been received in the chamber of accounts, the two keepers of the royal treasure continued to exercise this office, till the nomination of M. de la Houffaye, since which time there has been no alteration.

INTENDANTS OF THE FINANCES.

We do not know when the intendants of the finances were first created; under John of Samblancay, sur-intendant in 1518, there were two of them.

William of Marillac, who was comptroller-general in 1568, was intendant of the finances in the following year.

In 1573, the comptrollership-general was suppressed, and united to the intendants of the finances.

In 1574, the intendants of the finances took the title of intendants and comptrollers-general.

In 1594, on the decease of M. Do, the king suppressed the office of sur-intendant, and

formed a council of finances, of which he nominated the eight counsellors, intendants comptrollers-general of the finances.

When M. de Sully was appointed sur-intendant of the finances, the places of the intendants of the finances were suppressed; and in 1596, there was only one comptroller-general under him.

The time of their being re-established is unknown; in 1618, Mapou was intendant of the finances, and in 1629, Cherri, Sublet, Mailler, and Du Houffaye, were intendants of the finances; and they, with Peter of Castille, took it by turns to be comptroller-general.

In 1641, there were twelve intendants of the finances, and Tubeuf, one of them, added to his the title of comptroller-general.

In 1659, after the peace of the Pyrenees, the king reimbursed the intendants of the finances, and reduced them to the former number of two, who from 1660, until 1690, bore the office by commission. "The king having left it in the power of the comptroller-general, to employ such a person as he thinks proper, who, without the title of intendant of the finances,

finances, is to perform a part of the functions thereof.”

It is worthy of remark, that in 1661, the king created the council of finances, because he thought that one man could not be sufficient to the office.

In 1690, four intendants of the finances were created; in 1704, two more were added to them, and in the month of March, 1708, one more, which made seven in all.

In 1701, two directors of the finances were named, and these existed until 1708.

It appears that the functions of the intendants of the finances, were suspended during the time of the council of finances that was established under the regency; but by the edicts in March 1722, and those of 1725, they were restored, and their functions, rights, honours, privileges, prerogatives, entries, and rank, sittings in the councils of state, privy-council, and royal council, and their direction of the finances, determined upon.

It is from this time that we must draw our conclusion, although the number of the intendants has frequently varied since.

“ Thus,” said my lord, “ the functions of the administrators of the finances, the denominations and the qualities of the person appointed to this office, have varied in France according to times and circumstances.”

“ Yes, but there has always been a chief, to whom all the administrators have been accountable. There have been fewer principal places in this department when the administration has been directed by men of talents : for example, Sully had but one comptroller-general, and no intendants. Under Mazarin there were no more than one sur-intendant, two comptrollers general, and two intendants. And under Colbert, there were only two intendants of the finances by commission.”

“ At present you have only one minister of the finances ?”

“ Who to speak the truth is only a mannikin ; this department is wholly concentrated in the committee of finances of the national convention, which the deputy Cambon governs as he pleases.”

“ But you say nothing of your farmers-general.”

“ Since

“ Since the abolishing of the taxes upon salt, tobacco, and other articles, they do not exist.”

“ No great loss ; for the fortunes they made, sometimes prodigiously great, but always rapid, plainly indicated unwarrantable profits, and I think, ‘ *Qui festinat ditare, non erit innocens,*’ might safely be said to them.” “ I am of your opinion.” How many were there ?”

“ Their number has varied, especially since Madame de Pompadour, on the peace in 1748, got twenty added to their number.” “ For what reason ?” “ Because they gave her a gala ; at this time there were only forty farmers general, but for a million that was given to her, and another million that our plenipotentiary Moreau de Sechelles received, their number was increased to sixty*.”

At

* One of the characters which marks the French nation, is a disdainful hatred it has for every one belonging to the finances. The intendants and their deputies have always appeared as so many heads of Medusa to the common people ; so much so, that in every list of grievances their suppression was demanded. It was this hatred that caused Berthier to perish. M. Amson, receiver-general, did all he could in the national assembly

At this moment our friend, the commissary, having finished his business, joined us, which put a stop to our conversation upon the finance. Our morning walk had procured us a good appetite, which we made haste to gratify.

A violent rain came on, which deranged our plans for the afternoon, and we determined to pass the evening at one of the theatres. French gaiety was the reason of our deciding to go to the *Vaudeville*. Among other pieces, that of the chaste Sufannah was to be represented.

At this time the overture in all the theatres was the popular tunes of *Ca ira, la carmagnole, &c.*

The first piece was just begun, when from the next box to ours, a voice called out, "Do you hear, a patriotic air for me," It was answered with, "Silence, down with the disturber." The first speaker came impudently to the front of his box, and with his hat upon his head, called
out,

assembly to prevent his being included in the general contempt; he has been heard to say in the tribune, "Gentlemen, I desire you will take notice, that I have not been deputed as a financier, but that I have been named a deputy, although I am a financier."

out, "Play the *ça ira* for me, I am Jourdan." Our commissary looked at him, and told us he would soon make him hold his tongue: he stood up for that purpose, and raising his voice, he said to Jourdan, "By what right does a fellow of your character pretend to call for a tune? Coward that you are! Is it in the theatre that you show your courage? Take my advice and be quiet, or I will have you taken up immediately." This man, before so insolent, had now got his hat in his hand, and gave for excuse, that the *Marseillois* had resolved to raise a disturbance that day in the theatre, which was filled with royalists. "Let them alone," said the commissary, "and if you incline to assist them, you will hear from me to-morrow." Immediately all was quiet, and in a quarter of an hour afterwards the man left the theatre.

"Who is this Jourdan?" asked the Englishman, "Is it the monster that committed so many crimes at Avignon?" "If it were, I should not speak to him in such a manner, he always carries his coupe-tête with him*." The fellow
to

* Jourdan called his sabre his *coup-tête*, and was himself known by that epithet in the south of France.—*Translat. Note.*

to whom I have just now spoken, sometimes says he is a relation to that Jourdan, and sometimes to the general of that name, as best suits his purpose; the fact is, that he is related to neither of them; he is an idle fellow, who is always ready to raise a disturbance if he sees that he can get supported in it; and then as soon as he has done it, he takes himself off, under pretext that his duty calls him to the Jacobins, or to the committee of general safety, to whom he is a spy."

The piece of the chaste Sufannah at length began, to a profound and silent attention, all at once succeeded repeated applauses owing to a faint allusion. These clappings became the signal of a struggle which at first was laughable, but soon terminated to the disgrace of the applauders. We three very impartial spectators soon remarked that the applauders were friends of the fallen throne, who seized the most foreign expressions in the play to regard as allusions to it, by which means they revealed their opinion. Nineteen out of twenty of the spectators were of this party; the few remaining ones (with the exception of some impartial persons

persons such as ourselves) opposed this cabal, and at every applause roared out, "A bas les royalistes," (Down with the royalists.)

At that part where Susannah objects to being condemned without having been heard, a general stamping with the feet by the party, and a calling out of bravo, took place, and would probably have continued a long time, if fifteen or twenty persons had not got upon the benches with sabres in their hands, and roared out, "Let us fall upon these royalists."

Terror succeeded to the enthusiasm of the party, and this great majority took a precipitate flight at all the outlets of the theatre; the pit and the boxes were soon empty; the sabred men only remained, and those ordered the curtain to be dropped, threatening to be the death of the actors if the piece was ever performed again.

The directors of the Vaudeville, not doubting but that they would make good their words, did not give it any more. Two days afterwards, no doubt but with a design to make friends of the Marseillois and the Jacobins, they performed a truly republican piece; since
that

that time when opportunity has offered, they have been on the watch to chant the praises of the victorious party.

“What cowards these people are,” said Lord B. “they provoke a quarrel, and although many more in number than their opponents, they cede the field of battle without striking a blow; fifteen fabres make them tremble; if it had been my case, I should have thrown myself upon that handful of men, and turned them out of the house. I am no longer surprised at the boldness of your revolutionists, they gain strength from the cowardice of their antagonists. Good night, gentlemen, what I have seen puts me out of temper, and I shall go home.”

EIGHTH DAY.

CONTINUATION

OF THE

VISIT TO THE CASTLE.

CHAP. XI.

An Author comes to the Castle.—Conversation between him and Lord Bedford.—Description of the Queen's Bed-chamber.—A Curious Piece of Mechanism.—Visit to the Drawing-room.—Anecdote of some Counters.—Louis XVth's Observation upon the Emperor's Journey into France.—One of the King's Servants hid in a Chimney.—The Billiard-room.—An instance of the King's hastiness of Temper at that Game.—The Cabinet which the King dedicated to the Study of Geography.—Plan of the Journey to Cherbourg.—Anecdotes relative to the Coronation and the Holy Phial.—Dinner at the Tuilleries in Company with the Orator of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine.—Conversation that passed at it.

GOING at the usual hour to the palace of the Tuilleries, we found our commissary very busy in conversation with an old abbé, who had quitted the breviary to take a wife, and who called himself an historian, because he had just published a book filled with anecdotes, which he had collected from valets and porters. As soon

as

as the commissary saw us, he said to him, "If you please, citizen, I will refer to the opinion of these two gentlemen;" and he immediately added, "This citizen came to me a few days ago, and asked leave of me to examine all the papers that are deposited here, in order to compile from them a history of the king, and of the revolution. I answered him that these papers were under the care of a commission from the convention, and informed him who were its members. He went and made the same request to them, which was in like manner refused him. To-day he is come again, upon the strength of a verbal leave from Rolland, and upon this he wants to examine the papers. I was just replying to him, as you came in, that in the first place a verbal authority is not sufficient; and in the second place, that if even he had a written one, I could not introduce him to a deposit which by no means concerns us, and which belongs to the deputies. He insists and maintains that Rolland, in his quality of minister of the interior, has a right to visit whatever there may be in this palace. What is your opinion, gentlemen?"

Lord

Lord Bedford said that the commissary was both formally and effectually in the right; that with the deputies alone rested the power of suffering the papers to be examined. “But they have refused me,” replied the abbé. “Then they have done very right,” returned the Englishman. “For your obstinacy is certainly very indiscreet in persisting in your request of seeing these papers, particularly at a like moment, when”——“But, my lord, if I do not make haste, other people will steal the work out of my hands; I know that the secretary who is taking the inventory of the papers, makes notes and extracts from them. A historian like me must not suffer himself to be forestalled by a man who has never published any thing.” “Why should the right be more exclusively your’s than his? All rights are now equal in France. To grant you the privilege you require, would be to accord to one what belongs to the many. It does not follow, because you have already published several works, that you have a right to put all other writers out of the question.” “I understand you very well, but I shall nevertheless go

back to the minister ; I am so much the more in a hurry, because there is somebody trying to be beforehand with me in my work. A valet de chambre of the count de Broglie went yesterday to my printer, and offered him for sale the private correspondence between his master and Louis XV. which he is now arranging for publication : only think how that will be written." " The style is of little consequence, provided the matter be authentic and curious." " But, my lord, surely we ought to prevent the publication of bad writing." " That is the business of the public ; the author who cannot sell his works, will soon leave off writing. But, indeed, your care about preventing the publication of inelegant works, appears to me useless ; the evil is already done"—" How so ? " " Why, for the last four years, there have been so many book-makers, that it is almost a folly at present to write at all."

When the abbé was gone, the Englishman asked who he was. " A true camelion," replied the commissary, " a royalist with the court, a patriot with La Fayette, a cordelier with Danton, a Girondin with Rolland, and a leveller

leveller with Robespierre. He has published *the Memoirs of an Old Courtier*, containing information gathered from the newspapers, and waiting maid's secrets. In his opinion, to open his ears was all that was required for the writing of history ; so his muse made coffee-houses and antichambers her temple. He does not write *for fame*. Thus when he wants a favor of any body, he will stoop to any cringing meanness ; and you may equally speak very severe truths to him without his showing himself offended. As I am certain that he will very soon come back, let us go and warn Alexis, who knows him.

We found this young man employed in classing papers. When we mentioned the abbé to him, he said, “ I am much obliged to you, and I shall take my precautions accordingly ; for I am almost certain that they will have the folly and inconsiderateness to let him turn over all the papers ; Rolland, from pride, will not allow himself to break his word ; and the deputies of this commission, or, to speak more correctly, one of them, for the others do not interfere, will give his sanction, in order not

to displease the minister. He is every thing with every body ; he will give one hand to a royalist, and at the same moment, shake that of a patriot with his other. And if he is vexed at all, it is that he can only give two hands at once. He is a man who makes great promises, but performs none. I shall hide such of the papers as contain any thing that requires secrecy, as well as those in which are any curious or interesting particulars, and the abbé will be very little the wiser for the rest."

We were at this time in a large chamber which had been the queen's bed-room, and we examined it attentively. It had two latticed windows looking into the garden. Opposite to us at the bottom of the room was the queen's bed, placed in a kind of alcove, formed by four large hollow pillars, each of which was capable of containing a person within it. On one side of the alcove was a door, which opened into a passage leading into the dark gallery ; on the other side the door of a wardrobe.

" Every thing in this palace is worth attention," said the commissary, " examine this
close-

close-stool." After we had taken off a chintz case, flounced with muslin, we saw several handles. One put in motion a syringe, of which the pipe seemed to place itself of its own accord in the middle of the seat; another drew nearly to the same spot a tube, pierced full of holes, from which spurted up a thousand little springs of water, admirably adapted for washing and refreshment; so that this chair possessed all the advantages of bathing, washing, and injecting, without requiring any change of position, or wetting the hands.

In his examination of the queen's bed, the Englishman perceived that the matresses were spotted with blood, of which he asked the cause. "On the 10th of August," replied the commissary, an unhappy Swiss flattered himself with a chance of escaping death, by hiding himself under them. And most likely they would have proved his safeguards, if a furious Poissarde, who wanted to know how the queen's bed felt, had not lifted up the quilt, and thrown herself dressed as she was, upon it. Notwithstanding the thickness of two matresses and a feather-bed, she found that she

had pressed upon something else besides ; and assisted by her companions she raised the mattresses, and discovered the unfortunate man, whom they without mercy murdered on the spot."

" I must show you," said the commissary to us, " the presents which the Indian ambassadors made to the king in 1787;" he opened a secretary, and took out a parcel wrapped in a silk handkerchief, which he untied. He then displayed to us some gold and silver stuffs, and two woollen shawls, the whole forming the dress of two Hindoo princes." " Certainly these are not all the presents that the king of Mysore sent." " All but a few pocket handkerchiefs." " I understood that he had sent a present of pearls and diamonds." " Very true ; but that was last year, when new ambassadors came secretly to make proposals which were rejected. These presents do not either appear to have been very valuable ; for the king made a present to his minister of an egret, which was said to have been the best amongst them." " Apropos, do you know that you would have puzzled us finely, if you had joined Tippoo Saib."

Saib.”—“ Oh, yes, but the king repented so much of the American war, that he would not even hear their proposals.” “ That war, however was greatly to your advantage.” “ It might have been much more so, if our king had been less timid, if the king of Spain had been more firm, and our naval officers had been better and steadier to their faith.” “ There certainly was a juncture at which they might have made much harder terms with us.” “ That was the only moment, and we did not know how to profit by it. Your pride was just then a little humbled, and we had got quit of the rigorous commissary whom you had set over our ports. If in 1787, after having concerted our plans with the Indian ambassadors, we had gone to war, as you did in 1756, one blow would have robbed you of Hindostan, and have reduced you to the commercial state of Holland. “ At present we are not in this disagreeable situation, for the concessions which we have obliged the Hindoos to make, ensures us the dominion of India.”

At this moment in came our abbé, grinning with delight, “ I told you I should succeed !”

he exclaimed, " See my authority now, a grant in the hand writing of the minister. Rolland himself, and the leave of deputy L——. And this is not all either, the minister has given me an order, by which to have all the deposits opened to me, not only in Paris, but Versailles, &c."

" I wish you joy of your good luck ; but I cannot help thinking that the authority you have received is a great imprudence. You are now then the privileged historian of the revolution ; it is a great and arduous task that you are setting yourself."

Without listening to me the, abbé began to examine the paper cases, and their titles ; and he was going to pull them about, when Alexis stopped him, and said, " I beg of you, monsieur l'abbé, not to touch a single paper ; when you wish for any paper-case, I will give it to you, after having examined it first myself. As you are not to see any of them before I have taken an inventory of them, nor to examine any of the papers which belong to private individuals, it must be my business to see that such as I put into your hands are of neither of these

these two kinds." "I see very little here that promises any interest; I know from good authority that you have some curious papers here." "You will find only the old diplomatics, treaties of peace already known, negotiations perfectly uninteresting, and political schemes. The papers of consequence, such as the correspondence of Louis XVI. and the secrets of the court, are gone from hence; they have been purposely removed from the reach of the *impertinently curious*. I cannot even tell you what is become of them." "I am very sorry to hear this; then I am come too late after all. But however, never mind, I'll manage to make something of what is left. If anecdotes already known are put together with art, they have all the merit of pleasing novelties."

"This abbé," Lord Bedford whispered to me, "has the conceited air of a literary quack; how he likes to hear himself talk! I'll try if I can make him pull off the mask; if you can throw in a word or two to assist me, pray do." The following conversation then took place. "Are you sensible, Monsieur l'Abbé, how difficult

ficult a task you are imposing on yourself? To write the history of the reign of Louis XVI. while he is still alive, whilst all those who have supported him, and those who have opposed him, are still in existence, is a bold undertaking. If you err in any one particular, you will have a swarm of enemies settling upon you in a moment." "Oh, I shall easily avoid that danger." "How so?" "By only speaking of those who are dead; I have already done a volume of my work; half of it is filled with facts relative to Louis XIV. and Louis XV; the rest concerns Turgot, Maurepas, Vergennes, &c. and they are all dead." "But every thing you have mentioned, is well known, often published, and even forgotten." "That does not signify, I give it as an introduction to my history; it is the way now. Surely you cannot have looked into our new books, or you would have seen that the subject which many a title page, that serves as a stimulus to curiosity, announces, does not fill a quarter of the work." "But then you mislead the reader, who buys a book from its title." "That is of very little consequence, as long as he does but buy it. If you should like to know

know my plan, I'll let you into it with all my heart."

" I have made propofals to a printer to fell him ' Memoirs of Louis XVI. and the Revolution.' By the power of my eloquence, I have at laft perfuaded him that I am in poffeffion of feveral very valuable and original papers, containing fome important fecrets ; I have dazzled him ; I have promifed to produce him a work of five or fix volumes, at the rate of 2000 livres a volume. He has given me money upon advance, and I have put into his hands my firft volume. " But if you do not get any of thefe important fecrets, he muft difcover the impofition." " No not he ; publishers very feldom read manufcripts ; they are fatisfied with running their eye over certain paffages which the author points out to them. I have four new and curious anecdotes, and they ferved me to take him in with. If I cannot come at any more, I muft fupply their place with dialogues which I fhall fuppofe to have paffed between my characters. I fhall alfo make ufe of this expedient for bringing myfelf into notice with my readers, by taking a fhare
in

in these conversations ; this will gain me both importance and credit, by making it believed that I was connected with these great people, to whom, I will candidly confess to you, I never spoke a word in my life. Don't you think mine is a very happy idea?" " Oh, very, very ; but to be sure you don't mean to fill your work entirely with these dialogues of the dead ;" " No, only about two volumes of it, or perhaps not quite so much ; then if you allow about as much more for blank pages, notes, contents of chapters, and so on, you see there is above half my work done at once."

" Very right ; and the remainder, what is that to consist of?" " I have already told you that in my first volume I have said a good deal upon many characters now no more ; I shall pursue that system as much as I can ; the ministry of Saint-Germain alone will furnish me with half a volume. And when this resource is quite drained, then I must come to the revolution."

" Oh, you will speak of the revolution?"

" Why not exactly of the revolution itself, for I know nothing about it, which every one else does not know as well as myself ; but I shall dwell

dwell a good deal upon the source from whence it sprung ; for example, I shall show that our revolution was engendered by that which took place in Geneva, in 1782. What do you say to that ? is not that a new way of going to work ?” “ Human abilities can go no farther.” “ I shall say that the immediate effect of troubles in one country, is to produce them in a neighbouring one, by means of the transmigration of revolutionists. Then by a hair-drawn consequence, I shall proceed to show, that Marat came to Paris expressly to put in motion the spring of the revolution.” “ But he is alive ; surely you won’t dare to mention him ?” “ He will be dead by the time my work comes out ; his physician assures me that he is just in the unhappy situation Job was in, and that he can’t possibly live three months.” “ Ah, that is very well indeed for you, or else you would stand on ticklish ground.” “ Oh yes, and in order to prevent his having any suspicion of what I am doing, I am at this moment suing him to obtain me a diplomatic mission from Robespierre ; I have even sent for some trout from a famous lake, of which I have made him

them a present. Now, notwithstanding all my precautions, I know not how it is, but my undertaking gets wind; several persons have spoken to me rather unhandfomely about it, and the few worthy people I was acquainted with, have denied me their houses." "That is very unfortunate." "Very unfair, I think, for I never pretend to assert an opinion of my own; I am always of the one that prevails wherever I happen to be. All my secret is to get money by flattering every body as they come into power; for I look upon liberty as one of those will of the whisks, which the half-blind children of old age mistake for the fun. It is a very pretty thing to read about, a very pretty theory, and there its beauty ends." "You would have the practice too, if you had not shot beyond the mark. But I am afraid now it is beyond your reach indeed. The happy moment of turning it to profit does not occur twice in a man's life. Besides, the character of the French nation does not agree with liberty. At this time of the revolution, I can only compare Frenchmen to children playing with swords; many get killed, all hurt; and

dis-

disgusted with the dangerous weapon, they throw it from them." "I look upon France at this moment like a city given up to pillage, where fools kill, and wise men plunder; of which last description I am one." "Your comparison is not correct; wise men never plunder; when they cannot prevent a fray, they screen themselves from it, and avoid the danger which they are not able to quell. Besides, since your nation has spoiled the best of causes, on the one hand by the hot-headedness of the aristocrats, who have delayed this good—and on the other, by the too great eagerness of the democrats, who smothered it at its birth; what have the wise men, whom the two extremes call impartial, done? continually been upon the watch to seize the first favourable moment to reconcile all parties." "If this be the case, they have not long to remain inactive." "I am afraid you are not right there; but pray proceed in giving me an account of your plan."

"I was telling you that Marat, the original exciter of the Genevian revolutionists, shall appear at the head of the proscribed. Amongst them I shall place two of my persecutors. I shall

shall point out all that band of cartouches, as sent by the cabinet at St. James's, to revolutionize France." "What, will you belie the English in your work?" Oh yes; and my conjectures will be so striking, that they will pass for secret truths. Listen; when Louis the XVIth sent troops to Geneva, to restore peace at the time of the troubles, they had so little address, as to be satisfied with banishing the excitors of them. You collected them together in England, and supported them upon the public money; thus your cabinet kept up the troubles of Geneva. When our revolution first began to bud, several of the Genevian outlaws quitted England, crossed over to Paris, and all joined themselves to the patriotic side; thus your cabinet sent them to France to lend support to the revolution. I think this is an argument that cannot be replied to. I shall add, that England wanted to be revenged upon the king for the loss of America; that the Genevians wanted as well to revenge their banishment upon the king, and thence I shall draw a second consequence, that all these together are the authors of the fall of the throne and the king."

king.” “ So, you intend to mix up truth and falsehood pell mell.” “ The naked truth never convinces, it often even weakens belief; it must be assisted by fiction.” “ Take care, if men sometimes allow themselves to be deceived by the charms of fiction, by the power of eloquence, and by the magic of fine writing, they will at last reject this tinsel for the gold of truth; they always like to be convinced.” “ I see, my lord, that you know very little about authors; they reap the same advantage from opinion, that the ambitious man does from power; by holding out the fear of an evil, or the hope of a good, he biasses the public sentiments as he pleases.” “ It is true that the gold which Augustus poured into the world, after he had usurped the throne, established his absolute power on as firm a basis, as Tiberius established his by the terror which followed him, and the executioners who surrounded him.” “ Well, sir, and the author who makes extraordinary events proceed from a simple probability, gains the public opinion just as well as he who builds his history only upon proof. If one convinces, the other dazzles. They

both live in respect, and the truth is not discovered till after their death." "You do not write then from any ambition you have of living in the respect of posterity." "Oh no, the time present is enough for me. An age of glory has not half such temptation for me, as a day of enjoyment. *Emovi nolo, sed me mortuum esse nil estimo.*" "I fancy you are a materialist?" "Rather so; you know I have been an abbé." "You are making an epigram." "I did not think of such a thing." "I can't help reflecting, Monsieur l'Abbé, that in accusing England of having gorged upon your country these men of whom you have been speaking, literally the excrements of the human race, you lay a great charge against the government and the king, who might not only feel offended, but choose to resent it: Should not you in this case be afraid of causing a rupture between your country and mine?" "Be afraid of it! oh no. In the first place, according to the situation things are now in, you must see with me, that a rupture cannot be avoided. What I shall say against England must please our French revolutionists, to whom I shall make
a merit

a merit of what I have done. In the second place, I shall accuse your minister Pitt of all our misfortunes, and I shall say that your king George has no influence over your minister, nor in the affairs of the cabinet." "So you will make our king George appear merely a king of diamonds! Take care what you are after, you will be insulting him while you pretend to be pleading his cause." "That don't signify to me, if I can but thus set myself up a screen of safety. Besides you know it has always been the way to make kings feel the lash through their ministers backs; and they are so much used to it, that they think nothing of it. Well, you see now I have something to fill the five or six volumes with, for the sale of which I have bargained. Besides in imitation of *Dorat*, I shall put a long preface to my work, and some prints of quite a new kind." "I admire your fertile imagination." "I have not told you all yet; I have found in some old worm-eaten books, some mechanical and chronological tables, and I have conceived the idea of putting these into my work. With the assist-

ance of an *almanack royal* and a *journal*, I can make some more such; only think how curious they will render my work." "It is almost impossible to form an idea of any thing so curious: I thank you for your communications, and leave you to pursue your researches."

We now went into the queen's drawing-room; as soon as we were alone, Lord Bedford made this reflection: "Your petty authors ought to be much obliged to the revolution; it makes them appear the most important of men. Since the liberty of the press has allowed them to vomit out their souls in pamphlets, journals, and envenomed histories, France may be considered as a vast sewer, which a certain number of persons employ themselves in stirring up every day, in order that its metaphysic vapour may corrupt whatever approaches it." "You judge very severely of our authors; they don't all resemble the one you have seen." "I should be glad to think so; but I am persuaded that if you were to talk to the greater part of them separately, you would find very little reliance

liance to be placed in them. You must not judge of an author by the merit or demerit of his book, but by his conversation.”

The drawing-room was still in the disorder into which the people had thrown it on the 10th of August. Amongst broken and overturned furniture, were scattered the instruments of various games, such as pools, cards, counters, &c. The commissary picked up one of the latter, and asked the Englishman to examine it. The counter was about half an inch thick of ivory, and very heavy. Its weight betrayed that some more heavy substance than ivory was introduced into it; but it was done with so much art, that no joint was perceptible.

“ Would you believe that these counters have served to raise one accusation against the queen? It was reported that she had caused a double Louis to be put into each of them, and that she had sent several million, thus freighted, to her brother the emperor. This accusation was founded upon the bit of lead which is enclosed in each of them, and which is of the same diameter as a double Louis; and as calumny always gains belief, the people are persuaded

suaded that it is an undoubted fact. Of the same nature is the story of the queen having sent her brother some chairs stuffed with gold.”

“The ease,” replied the Englishman, “with which the queen might in any other way have sent money to her brother, is an infallible proof of the falsity of these absurd accusations. But what you would find it much more difficult to prove false, is, that Vergennes had a waggon full of money seized during his ministry, which was going into Germany. This affair was hushed up with great care, and has certainly only left suspicions of its truth, but so strongly are they rooted in the minds of the people, not only in France, but also in England, that they both firmly believe that the queen robbed France of its coin to send it to the emperor. It is true, that any thing evil is propagated as quickly as any thing good is forgotten. I do not exactly remember whether it was before or after the emperor’s journies into France that this report was set on foot.”

“It was after.”

“Speaking of these journies, it was said that at the time of them, Louis testified great uneasiness.”

“Very true, when he mentioned his coming to

Ver-

Vergennes in a letter, he said, "The emperor is coming to pay us a visit, he hides the real intention of it under the cloak of his curiosity to see Paris and France: we must be upon our guard, for he will watch us narrowly*."

"This chimney served as a place of protection to one of the king's servants on the 10th of August. Durey, whom I have already more than once mentioned to you, hid himself there, when the insurgents broke into the palace. When he had climbed in, he let down the
I 4 valve,

* It must be remembered that the emperor used to travel like a simple gentleman; some said that he did it to avoid the trouble of ceremony, others merely from economy. What gives probability to the latter motive, is the little liberality with which his journies were marked. He was his own purse bearer. Stopping once upon his return home at a village to take some refreshment, he went into the only public house there was in the place, and asked for a couple of fresh eggs. A word which escaped one of his valets let the hostess into the secret of his being the emperor; a true woman in contrivance, she resolved to profit by the chance before her, and in her bill she charged the eggs at two louis. The emperor, astonished at this enormous charge, asked, "if eggs were scarce there?" "No, my lord," replied the woman, "but emperors are scarce here." Pleased by this witty reply from a simple villager, he paid her the two louis. The witticism was worth more. This they say is the only act of generosity that he ever practised on his travels.

valve, and concealed himself securely. Towards night when he heard no more noise, he tried to open this valve, and not being able to effect it, he then endeavoured to climb up to the top of the chimney which he found equally difficult. Fatigued by his vain efforts, and weak from want of food, he again sunk into his uneasy posture, anxiously pricking up his ears to catch the least sound. At length, about midnight, he heard somebody come into the room, and thought that he could distinguish lamentations uttering upon the unfortunate events of the day. Emboldened by this, he called out; for a long time they could not discover from whence his cries proceeded; at last, by dint of hallooing, they came to the chimney. He begged for *grace*, and then informed them how to open the valve. The precipitancy with which he bolted out, and the condition he was in, at first alarmed those who had come to his deliverance; they were the citizen soldiery who were visiting the palace; and he had the good fortune to be recognised by the head of the patrol. After having asked for something to eat, and satisfied his hunger, he
made

made himself useful by conducting them all about, and offering to watch with them. Thus he was saved; he made a merit of his watching to Rolland, and obtained by it the place which he now holds." "It must certainly be for the sake of shelter that he fills the place, for he must be rich." "He has nothing at all; gaming and women have been his ruin. With that hypocritical air of his, and that threadbare coat, would you believe that he keeps several women, and that one of them comes hither in a carriage to see him?" "That is ridiculous enough." "Nay, as things are, it is worse than that."

The billiard-room through which we passed, presented nothing worthy of our attention, but a little book in which the king wrote down all the games he played with his wife. In examining it, we found that the queen had won much oftener than the king, and that the evening before their fall they had played ten games together, of which the queen had won seven. "You told me some days ago that the king was a bad player." "I speak upon the report of those who have seen him play; I must observe

serve to you that he had no temper at play. He was so well acquainted with his own weakness, that he often deprived himself of the amusement, saying, 'I shall be sure to fly into a passion.' When in an evening he had been out of temper at play, he always refused to go to it again the next day. I have been told that once for eight days together, no entreaties could induce him to play a single game; that he would not even, during the time, allow himself to go into the billiard-room, merely because he had spoken hastily at play to M. de la Tour du Pin; this is the story. Every body that knows the game of billiards, knows that there are some days on which he plays much worse than on others. Good play depending entirely upon the eye and the steadiness of the arm, it is very easy to conceive that when the mind has been agitated, it must be impossible to direct either the one or the other with the requisite precision, because when the mind is agitated, the movements of the body are false and irregular. It was certainly on one of those days on which the king played horridly, and lost every game, that he forgot himself. A
dispute

dispute arose upon a stroke, on which depended the fate of the game that he was playing with his minister. The lookers on were referred to, and gave it in favor of the latter. The king, flying into a passion, broke his cue, and went out of the room, exclaiming, "this is the consequence of condescending to play with some people." Reflecting the next day on his weakness, he sent a message to la Tour du Pin, saying 'that he was vexed at what had happened the evening before; that the self-sufficiency which is inseparable from every player, had been the sole cause of what he had said and done.' But from that time he never played again with any body but the queen.

One of the colleagues of our commissary came in at this moment, to tell him that the commission was to be continued, till the king, who was then appearing at the bar to hear the accusations laid against him, and to answer some interrogatories, should be sent back to the temple. "So," added he, "we will dine here; two deputies will be of our party, and the orator of the Faubourg St. Antoine.

In

In an hour we will sit down." "Should you like, gentlemen," said the commissary to us, "to add to the number of the party?" Without waiting for my answer, Lord Bedford answered for us both. "As the rest of these apartments on the ground floor are not worth examining, will you like to pass away the time till the hour of dinner, by going to see the king at the assembly? I will take care that you shall be situated where you can see and hear every thing," "No, I thank you, I should suffer too much from the sight." "If that is the case, let us visit the middle story; we will begin with the cabinet, which the king dedicated to the study of geography."

In going up the back stair-case, the commissary pointed out to us the little room in a recess, where the king had shut himself up to melt the silver chests, of which I have already spoken. The furnace, the ingot mould, and the bellows, were still there; there was also a basket full of charcoal, and some other utensils. This place, in which there were only two chairs and a table, appeared never to have been put to any other use.

The

The king's cabinet, on entering, presented to our view the true workshop of a man of learning. On one side was a collection of maps shut up in boxes, and placed upon shelves in the manner of a book-case. In one corner were some maps of at least twenty-feet long, carefully rolled up, and placed in a niche, which had been made for them in the wall by the side of the chimney, that the warmth might preserve them from taking injury by the damp. In the middle of the room stood a large table covered with maps in drawing, and all the articles requisite for colouring them. Several geographical books scattered about upon the chairs, seemed rather to bespeak their owner having been called from them for a moment, than gone for ever. "Do you see there four maps in frames?" said the commissary. "Yes, they are most curiously drawn." "They are the work solely of the king. Cassigny could not have done them better." "They contain his route to Cherbourg*."

"Ah,

* Louis in this journey experienced many undoubted proofs of the love which the French bore him. The newspapers of the time teemed with the many traits of attachment

“ Ah, I recognize this country ; his journey was said to have cost only 48,000 livres.” “ Add to that 100,000 livres ; I’ll prove it to you.” “ Can you find a proof of it in this register ?” “ Yes, read this article in the king’s own hand writing. *My journey to Cherbourg amounted to 148,000 livres, including what I expended in charity and entertainments. I should think myself very happy if that to Rhiems had not cost more.*” “ By this reflection Louis appears greatly to have regretted the expence ; has he put down what the sum was ?” “ No, I fancy not, indeed he could not have known ; he had reigned then only fifteen months, and had not had time to learn how to wield the scepter. Every thing was done for him by his ministers.” “ I think he would have done much

ment which he both received from his subjects, and bestowed on them during this journey. Of the many verses which were written upon this journey, I shall only quote the four following lines ; the idea is simple, pretty, and true :

If a king be really loved, and really be revered,

He may journey night and day, at any hour or time,

That he should travel from his home, it never can be feared,

For he will loving subjects find in every state and clime.

much better to have followed the advice of Turgot and Maurepas, who would have had him crowned at Paris.” “ Without doubt, but the church made so great an uproar about this innovation, and so worked upon the conscience of the young monarch, that they were obliged to take him to Rhiems*.” “ But how could the expence be so immensely great? I recollect that some of the accustomary show was dispensed with, and that the few persons who assisted at the ceremony even occasioned surprise in the world.” “ There were a great number of expences that you can have no idea of. I will merely mention one of them to you.

Instead

* We must here mention what became of la Sainte Amponle, (the holy phial). In 1793, Rhul, the representative of the people who stabbed himself after the affair of the month of Prairial, of the year 3, profited by a mission which he had into the department of la Marne to destroy this object of credulity. He went to Rheims, obtained the sacred phial, called together the people in the market place, and after a speech suited to his purpose, he dashed the phial down upon the pavement, and broke it into a thousand pieces. He then invoked the angels who had brought it down to earth, to carry it back to heaven, thus calling down the divine vengeance upon his head. The people were at first alarmed, but they soon forgot La Sainte Amponle, and believed no more in the miracle.

Instead of a plain stand being erected for the queen to see the ceremony from, they built her so compleat a house, that she had in it a guard-room, and a dressing room. In the same way that at Versailles the queen used to go to church without quitting her apartments."

"Did you ever hear, gentlemen, an anecdote, which is indeed not much known, about the paintings on the coronation coach?" "No."
"I'll tell it to you: on the pannels of this coach, France was represented by a female figure upon her knees before the king. A remark was made to the inhabitants of Rhiems how humiliating this posture was to Frenchmen. The queen, whose ears this malicious observation reached, by her presence of mind hushed all murmurs upon it. She sent for a painter, whom she ordered to substitute a head of Minerva for that of the king. The painter worked all night, and the ill-intentioned were not a little surpris'd at the change they witnessed the next day. The report which had been circulated the evening before was looked upon as false, and entirely forgotten." "A few years earlier, necromancers would have drawn
drawn

drawn an unfavourable omen from this anecdote. But they are calling us to dinner. Tomorrow we will conclude our visit to the cabinet."

Our cloth was laid in the king's sitting room on the ground floor; we sat down nineteen in company. The commissary, who sat next to me, said, "Those eight men whom you see in a row, compose with me the commission. Farther on is the man who takes the inventory; by the side of Alexis are three deputies, whose names you have just heard. Gouchon, the orator of the Faubourg St. Antoine, is seated next to the last of these; the two beyond him are persons employed by the commission."

The first half hour passed in silence, interrupted only by each asking for what he wanted, or offering to help some of the company. When our appetites began to be pretty well allayed, we drank a few bumpers, and the wine inspired us with confidence, and unlocked our tongues.

"Well, my lord," said a deputy to Bedford, "What do you think of the king's appearing at our bar?" "It brings to my mind the

same error committed by Charles the First, in the like situation. Had I been in the place of them both, I would have refused to appear."

"What can one man do in opposition to a multitude?" "If you mean in the way of strength, very little: but before you propose any more questions have the goodness to inform us what passed at the assembly this morning." "After the act of accusation had been read, the president asked Louis XVI. many different questions, which he replied to with an exactness which was so much the more surprising, as he could not have foreseen half the interrogatories which were put to him. After this he shewed him several papers which were brought forward to convict, the greater part of which he acknowledged. This business being finished, he demanded to have counsel for his defence. What surprised us was his tranquillity of mind, the firmness of his answers, and their laconic nature. I must confess to you that this behaviour reconciled to him more than one of his enemies. To-day, for the first time in his life, he has shewn himself a king."

"Danger

“ Danger then has restored to his mind that energy, of which misfortune and grief had stript it: I am glad to hear it.” “ You approve his conduct then?” “ No, I hoped, but did not, I confess, expect that he would not behave otherwise.” “ Explain yourself.” “ I should have liked him, instead of replying to the accusations and questions put to him, to have treated you as rebellious subjects, to have refused to stand a trial, and to have made an appeal to such Frenchmen as had continued faithful to his interests.” “ The possibility of this was foreseen; his trial would nevertheless have gone on.” “ Admitted, but you would have been puzzled in passing sentence on him. Without wishing to dive into your opinion, confess that you would never have dared to have condemned him to capital punishment.” “ Very true, but pray let us drop this debate.”

“ Tell us Gouchon, what do they say in the Faubourg St. Antoine?” “ Nothing, notwithstanding that, according to the orders of Orleans, I used every effort in my power, together with Fourcade and father Nicholas, to persuade the Sans-Culottes to look with calm-

ness upon this suit, and its event ; they are all cast down at what is going on." " Have you given Orleans an account of this ?" " I have." " What does he say to it ?" " He !—he pretends to be offended with me, and refuses me money ; but let him look to it, I will draw the other string of my bow, and its twang will make him tremble." " What do you mean by the other string ?" " I see that you are yet only novices in these affairs. At the time of a revolution it is necessary to know the secret of gaining over a portion of the people to your side, if you wish to play a part of any consequence, to be able to manage them just as you will, and make them recant when you like, and nothing is more easily to be done. With a good deal of talk, some assurance, and strong lungs, you must succeed. Having advanced thus far, the next step is to sell yourself to a party, which you afterwards abandon to serve one that pays you better. This is my situation just now ; sometimes Orleans buys me, sometimes Rolland. When one refuses me money, I go to the other, who gives it me directly. This is the way for a man to make himself of

con-

consequence at a revolution. If I have had neither education nor instruction, I have however read a good deal. In 1789, when the first patriots were beginning to show themselves, I studied my part in the different histories of revolutions. The cardinal de Retz gave me the best lessons of any." "According to this principle, Gouchon, you would have given your services to the court, if she had paid you the best." "I am not such a fool as that. To attach myself to that party which all the rest are attacking, would be to resolve to fall with it. The court being the mark at which all the patriotic archers were aiming, fools only would have stood before it." "It is true, indeed, that one must have been very blind not to have foreseen the event, above all, when the partisans of royalty flunk off from their party under the pretence of going to form a league in a foreign country." "They acted like the coward, who seeing his companion attacked by two thieves, instead of defending him, ran to seek assistance, and came back only to find him robbed and wounded, whilst if he had fought

on his side, he might have driven off the thieves at once."

"That is the best thing you have said yet," exclaimed my Lord Bedford. "You must allow, my lord, that in the science of revolutions, you are still only infants compared to us." "That may be, but you must confess likewise that you have made use of many of the means employed by us. For example, like us, in order to ruin such ministers as you did not approve, you attacked them without intermission, by heaping motions upon motions. He who agreed to any of them, soon found that he had been setting up a stumbling block for himself to fall over, and was obliged to resign his place; and those ministers who acceded to none of them, you took care to render odious to the people." "The two first national assemblies have the credit of this manœuvring; the first pointed out the way to the second." "Very true; in reducing the king to the situation of a simple delegate, they have accustomed France to behold in the monarch merely a useless chief; and when they went out of place, they seemed to say to those
who

who were to succeed them, “ We have shaken the foundations of the throne, it is now your business dauntlessly to overturn it; the people are prepared for its fall.” “ What displeases me most in your present assembly is, the sarcasms which the deputies allow themselves to throw at each other.” “ You forget, certainly, that we learnt this fashion from your parliament; remember Lord Barry saying to Lord Germaine, ‘ I had not even an idea of the impudence and meanness which you have shown to-day.’ We have not yet allowed ourselves such gross invectives.” “ That may be, but what we have never allowed ourselves, is the haughtiness and disdain with which you speak of other crowns.” “ Down to the present moment we have only shewn them a noble boldness. But with what pride has not your parliament spoken of some states? The Roman senate never trampled more haughtily upon conquered monarchs. Call to your mind this sentence, spoken by a member of your parliament; ‘ As to the two kingdoms of the north, Denmark and Sweden, they have each in their turn been befriended by our protection, and our benevolence.’” “ I see

that we have not much room to reproach you."

We had drank our wine freely, and our spirits were up, so we thought it most prudent to retire, and the commissary followed. He told us the next day that the orator of the Faubourg had been turned out by the party for his unhandfome language, and his menaces. We both thought he had been served very right, and promised to meet again the next day.

NINTH DAY.

CONTINUATION

OF THE

VISIT TO THE PALACE.

CHAP. XII.

Metaphysical Reflection upon Matter, Men, and Animals.—Louis XVI's love of Hunting.—Singular Work that he wrote upon this Diversion.—The King translates an English Work.—Character of Louis XVI. from his Birth to his Fall.—Calculation of the Harvests, and Consumption of Corn and Meat in France.—The King's Steganography.—Examination of the Queen's Library; how she employed herself; her Character; on the 10th of August she presents a Suit of Armour to the King.—Visit to the Council Chamber.—The Influence of England upon our Revolution.—Diplomatic Correspondence between Montmorin and De Demoustier.—La Chevaliere D'Eon proposes to raise a Legion to fight the Enemies of Liberty.—What the King said relative to the Order of Malta.—The Answers of the Sovereigns of Europe to Louis the XVIth. on the Constitution.

“ I last night reflected a good deal,” said Lord B. when he came up to us, “ upon what I saw and heard at dinner yesterday ; and I confess to you that the more I study men, the good opinion
I had

I had for the human race diminishes ; very soon only fools and hypocrites will dare to say that they have retained theirs." " You must allow me to observe, that the consequence which you draw, can only be the result of a fit of the spleen." " Not at all," Lord B. returned. " To study and know men, you must not examine them when they are governed by any laws ; the fear of being punished if they infringe upon them, and the habit of living in dependance, stifles their inclinations, and veils their characters. But view them in revolutions ; restored to a state of nature, their first steps, their first movements, lead them to universal destruction. Whatever has by length of time or study been established to protect society, they only make use of to oppress it. What has your nation, which heretofore was admired for its mildness and urbanity, done in the four last years ? The French destroy the French ; nay, often cool blood accompanies them in their popular seditions. See the mob seeking destruction, pillage, and food for their eyes in the dying agonies of their victims ! The prosperity of the human race enters neither into
their

their ideas nor their hearts ; this is too noble and too sublime a sentiment for them. Turn from the common people, and you will find the same passions existing in the higher ranks ; they are only concealed by the gloss of education ; the only difference is in their manner of acting ; if the one pillages you, the other cheats you ; if the one assassinate you, the other poisons you ; if one uses public threats, calumny is employed by the other ; but the sum of the whole is only vice brought to perfection. In the mass of the human race some individuals are distinguished by not appearing to belong to the species ; but such are seldom to be met with, and there appears so strong a resemblance between them, and those that history has described to us, that we cannot but suppose them to be the same persons, and be tempted to believe, that only a certain number of souls are created, who continually return upon the earth under different names. This conjecture obtains much probability at this moment ; compare the heroes of the league and of la Fronde* with your

* The league was in the time of Henry IV. and la Fronde, or sticklers, in the minority of Louis XIV. (*Translator*).

your great men of the day, you will find among the latter the Duke of Beaufort ; look among your revolutionists, and you will find our Cromwell. The assassins of Nero, of Tiberius, and of Mahomet, are in Paris, as well as the red brothers. Wait a little and you will see Alexander and Tacitus appear again. The miasms of men of great talents are not lost, nor do they evaporate ; they often wander about for many centuries, but at last always fix themselves in the brain of some living beings. Happy is he who only possesses those of the great men that we regret. To come nearer to the point, Gouchon is to Orleans, what a certain inhabitant of la rue Mazarine, was to the Cardinal de Retz, and your three deputies are no other than three of our parliamentary men under Cromwell."

" Thus, my Lord, you embrace the system of metempsychosis, you believe in the transmigration of souls." " I allow it, but not as the Egyptians did ; who not knowing what to do with a soul without a body, preferred, on a man's death, to make his soul pass into the body of an animal, rather than to let it wander in the unknown

unknown deserts of the other world.* But I believe that in the general reproduction, nothing that has been created will be lost ; those atoms that putrefaction has separated and rendered invisible, serve to reproduce beings of the same kind with those that they before animated ; thus the atoms of dogs serve to produce dogs, in like manner as the atoms of men serve to produce men. Why should it not be the same with this incomprehensible emanation of the soul, as it is with matter ? What does the distinction between a vegetative soul and a spiritual

* The metempsychosis was the favorite system of Pythagoras, he even made no distinction between men and animals, pretending that the souls of the one entered indiscriminately into the bodies of the other. The defenders of this philosophy, in order to excuse the absurdity of the doctrine, say that Pythagoras only taught it to prevent the horror of murder. “ For who is it” they say, “ that being persuaded of this doctrine, will not be afraid to kill either a man or an animal, who might be his father, his brother, or his intimate friend, and to whom the body that he destroyed might serve as a cover.”

In order to give the greater weight to his system, this philosopher told every body, that he had not always been Pythagoras, that he remembered to have been nearly six hundred years since, at the siege of Troy, under the name of Enphorbas, and to have been wounded there by Menelaus.

tual soul mean? It is an invention of the pride of man and nothing else. For my part, I govern my belief upon those things which are above our comprehension by experience; for I maintain that to reason upon the secrets of the creator is not to reason at all. Let us therefore have done with systems, and let us continue our observations on the king's cabinet."

"Will you see the topographical maps of the king's hunts? Here is a collection of them in this port-folio; he caused them to be made after he had corrected them himself, as he knew the woods where he hunted as well as his guards; you may depend on their exactness." "They can be interesting only to Lewis XVI. himself; it appears that hunting was his favorite passion." "Passion indeed, at least he has given every proof of it; I will leave you to guess how much he has written upon this exercise." "No doubt, a treatise." "No, look at this manuscript, it is a description of all the hunts of Lewis XV. and of his own; it is only intelligible to a consummate hunter. Let us open this collection, and read a few articles.

STAG HUNT, IN 1790.

“ On the 12th January, at the castle of Soigny, M. de Lacqueray and Flocard the younger, turned off a stag *à dix cors* in the rising grounds of Vendome, which was taken in the pool, belonging to the Canuettes of Pecqueuse; he was lamed. The same day a pricket was attacked in the *tailles d'Epéron*, which was taken in the small new pond ”

The 14th September, at the cross of Severay, Messieurs de Lacqueray and Dubaillon turned off a stag of *dix cors*, in the *Hérons*, which was taken upon the high road to Buron, near *les ventes Nicolas*. The same day, dogs who had separated themselves from us, took a stag of *dix cors* in the *Tapisseries*.”*

“ This

• Of all animals, the stag affords the hunters the most pleasure; they make a particular study of the stag hunt. They have names applied to every age of this animal; in its first year it is called a fawn; in the second year a pricket; in the third year *un cerf à sa première tête* (a stag with his first head); with his second or third head in the fourth and fifth year; in the sixth year, a stag *à dix cors jeunement*; in the seventh year, a stag *à dix cors*; in the eighth year, *grands cerfs* (great stags); and in the ninth year, *grands vieux cerfs* (great old stags).

They call the branches of a stag's horns, antlers.

“ This was the last hunt before the reform in this department took place.”

RECAPITULATION OF THE STAG HUNTS
IN 1790.

Places.	Stags taken.	Missed.	Driven away.
Forest of Rambouillet	27	0	15
Forest of Fontainebleau	43	6	32
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Totals	70	6	47

THE STAGS TAKEN WERE

Stags of dix cors, (in their seventh year)	19
dix cors jeunes, (in their sixth)	10
quatrieme têtes, (in their fifth)	8
troisieme têtes, (in their fourth)	12
deuxiemes têtes, (in their third)	16
daguets, (prickets)	4

“ These two articles are sufficient for you to form a judgment of the remainder of this collection, written by Lewis XVI. without you are curious to learn what persons belonging to his court went out with him.” “ No, not I, but what are those maps lying open there, covered with that small hand-writing?” “ They are the notes from which he composed this collection; whilst he was hunting, he wrote down his

his observations on these maps ; examine them carefully, you will see noted the date, the age of the stag that was hunted, whether taken, or escaped, and the place where he was set at bay.” “ What a foolish occupation ! if any one thought proper to have this collection printed, which would make two volumes in octavo, and entitle it, ‘ The works of Louis XVI.’ it would be sufficient to form a judgment of the man from, at least in a great measure. And if Charles the IXth, had the same taste for hunting, he has at least left behind him a treatise on this sport, which is esteemed by all judges.”* “ It is true that these two monarchs took the same recreations. They both had a violent passion for hunting, and if Louis XVI. made locks and bolts, Charles IX. forged helmets and breast-plates.”

“ I will make you entertain a different opinion of our unfortunate king ; hitherto, except in the study of geography, you have only seen him devote himself to useless occupations ; learn

VOL. II.

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what

* This treatise was printed in octavo, in 1625, and is at present very scarce.

what he translated; one of your most valued English authors, *Horace Walpole*." "Our ambassador in France during the ministry of the Duke of Bourbon, under Louis XV?" "The same; he who so much blinded Cardinal Fleury, that he succeeded in causing him to neglect our navy, under pretence that as there was a peace with England, it was not necessary to attend to it." "It is true that our success in the war which began in 1756, was owing to this conduct of Walpole's. But let us see what work of his it is, that Louis the XVIth has translated." "There is the copy entirely written in his own hand." Lord B. read ' *Historical doubts on the life and reign of Richard the Third*.' "I know this work, Walpole had it printed in 1768." "And I purpose printing the king's translation."* "You are much in the right for two reasons, the first that you will destroy the prevailing

* I published this translation of Louis XVI's, in 1800; it may be had at Le Rouge's, printer, *passage du commerce*; to whom application may be made to see, and even to buy the manuscript of this work, written entirely by the king's own hand.

vailing opinion of the king having had no talents ; and in the second place, who is the man that is a friend to the monarch, that will not be pleased to have his work ? This manuscript is likewise the more valuable, as I believe that Louis XVI. is the only king, of his branch of the family, that has written at all. Perhaps at present no great attention will be paid to this manuscript, but some years hence I promise you it will be sought for. It is at least an article of curiosity.” “ You know I told you not to be in a hurry to pass your opinion upon the king.” “ You were in the right, I did not suppose him to be so well instructed.” “ I assure you that he is very well informed on many subjects ; he not only understands the English language in such a manner as to be able to translate it with success, but is also perfectly acquainted with the Latin and the Italian ; he even reads into French the letters that he receives written in those languages.” “ That is an uncommon talent.” “ If Louis had been born a century earlier, he would without doubt have passed for a learned man.” “ Be it so, but you will agree with me, that he was not fit

to govern such a great empire as France."

"We agree; in the first place, there was a great fault in his education; he was taught the way to heaven, instead of being taught the way to govern a state. And this is the reason that he has always given up politics for religion." "He had not the address which his brother-in-law the emperor had, who, whilst he was kissing the pope's feet, knew how to tie his hands. Besides Louis had natural defects, which he either was not able or willing to get the better of. His blunt way of speaking, and his rude remarks, alienated confidence from him. His want of firmness on critical points, and his lack of energy, have prevented men who were even disposed to sacrifice themselves for him, from offering him their advice. What is most surprising is, that his judgment was as just, as his soul was lenient and timid; he would never permit injustices to be done, and nevertheless many were committed in his name, which were concealed from him. Besides the imperfections which are common to man, he had very
unfor-

unfortunate ones for a sovereign ; as for example, he had no idea of the human heart, very little knowledge of public affairs, which rendered him careless in the council when any thing important was discussing. To which add a want of character ; notwithstanding which he would not bear the least contradiction ; and his foolish conduct with regard to the queen ; he believed her when he ought not to have listened to her, and turned a deaf ear upon her advice when he ought to have attended to it.” “ You only speak of his defects,” said Lord B. “ whereas he had many virtues and good qualities ; he was a good husband, a good father, an economist, compassionate ; he was never known to have an intrigue, or weakness ; his life was exemplary.” “ That is very true, but the virtues of a private life, when pushed to excess, are as Malherbes says, ‘ Vices upon the throne.’ Besides, this only proves that Louis XVI. one of the best of men, was one of the most indifferent of princes. What we have seen of him hitherto in our enquiries, affords us no other proof than that he knew every thing except that which he ought to have known ;

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known* ; that he sacrificed the time he ought to have employed in governing the state, to his private

* Louis XVI, was fond of reading, and his conversation proved that he had profited by it; how came it then that he did not mark out to himself a line of conduct to be pursued when the revolution burst out? It would have been very easy to him; and in a thousand works he must have seen the revolution foretold, and even the time when it would happen, calculated. He therefore cannot be pitied for his want of foreknowledge; is it then apathy, fatality, or what other cause that has led him to his fall? We are as yet too near to this event to decide. I will here add some extracts which were sufficient to instruct the king how to act, if he had meditated upon them.

“ When kings accustom themselves to know no other law than their own absolute will, they can do every thing, but by doing every thing they undermine the foundation of their power. They have no more subjects—Nothing but a sudden and violent revolution can bring back this overgrown power to its proper level; very often the blow that might moderate it, overthrows it, without a remedy to retrieve it.”—Anno 1717, *Telemachus* of Fenelon.

“ I know not whether I have too good an opinion of the age I live in, but it appears to me that there is a certain fermentation of universal reason, which is ready to show itself.”—Du Clos’ *Considerations on the Manners of the Age*, 1750.

“ I foresee that before the end of this century the trades of priest and of king, will not be half so good as they have been.”—*Chesterfield’s Letters*, printed in 1750.

“ If

private studies.” “This truth,” said Lord B.
“cannot be denied, no more than that he
wished

“If the French nation is debased, it is its own fault, but remember, my lord, that it will not be base twenty years hence.” (*He was only mistaken as to the time.*)—Letter of J. J. Rousseau, written in 1763.

“You trust to the present situation of society, without reflecting that this situation is subject to inevitable revolutions. The great become little; the rich become poor; the monarch becomes a subject. We are approaching to the crisis, and to the age of revolutions.”—Emily, vol. II.

“No doubt but the time will come, when we shall bring the popes upon the stage, as the Grecians did Atreus and Thyestes, whom they wanted to make odious. The time will also come when the massacre of St. Bartholomew will be made a tragedy.” (The tragedy of Charles IX. and the opera of Pope Joan, have fulfilled this prediction.)—Letter of Voltaire to Saurin, in 1764.

“O people! of whatsoever nation you are, listen to salutary advice. If ever you should have the good fortune to have it in your power to assemble yourselves by representatives, and that it should be proposed to give you tribunes, never let the same persons enjoy so important a trust for a long time together.”—Voltaire to the clergy in 1775.

“I am much obliged to you for the sketch you have given me of a good political project; it might be put in execution if I was only twenty. There is no doubt but that the pope and the monks will be set aside; their fall will not be the work of reason, but they will perish in proportion as the

wished for the happiness of his people. At the revolution, his design, like that of Trajan's, was
to

finances of the great potentates become deranged. In France, when all the expedients to raise money have been exhausted, they will be obliged to secularize the convents, and the abbeys. This example will be followed, and the end will be, that every kingdom will have its religion, as it has its language, to itself; I do not fix any time for this prophecy. However it is very probable that within a few years, things will take the turn that I have now foretold."—Letter from the king of Prussia to Voltaire, 12th July, 1777.

"The ecclesiastics and the regulars, of every class and order, will receive from the lay powers allowance for their maintenance.—Their property will be annihilated.—The pope will cease to be. A sufficient income, in a just proportion, will be fixed for the bishops and the clergy of all classes. You will see the ecclesiastical dignitaries, stripped of all their worldly pomp, live as the clergy anciently lived, according to the primitive discipline."—Scandalous Chronicle, printed in 1785; in the preface are these words: 'All this will come to pass between 1780, and 1792.'

Manuel, who was shut up in the Bastille in 1786, wrote some bad verses in imitation of some good ones that are well known.

THE BASTILLE.

"United may our virtuous citizens conspire,
To wrench from hence the bolts which tyranny has fixt;
May the loud thunder roar, and heaven's consuming fire,
Fall on its haughty towers, and guards in cinder mixt!
May the last governor emit his last sad sigh,
In——— and I with joy should die!

(But he did not die thus.)

to unite the liberty of the people with the prerogatives of the sovereign." "Why did he only wish it?" "He did more, he proclaimed it." "Yes, in speeches, which he contradicted the next day in his declarations." "Yes, that the court frightened him into." "Will he for that reason be the less culpable in the eyes of posterity? He ought to have wished it with firmness, and to have conducted himself in such a manner, as to have enforced his wish. On the contrary, if he one day gave his orders to the states, two days afterwards he in person retracted them, and gave new orders. He only shewed firmness in the royal sitting (of the states) the better to discover his weakness, the day after the taking of the Bastille. He submitted to recall Necker after he had dismissed him with contempt. Every step he took, every one of his actions presents to you contradiction and failure in his projects, which could not but produce his fall. The greatest wrong they have done him is to describe him as a tyrant; if he really had been one, they would have had more trouble in overthrowing him." "You speak," said Lord B. "of his weakness

ness and of his indiscretion, as if you did not know that there is nothing so uncommon as want of firmness in kings ; beset on all sides, and at every moment, it is almost impossible for them to determine with firmness. Born to command, they are almost always forced to obey. How many kings can you name to me that have not been the play things of their courtiers ? You will only find such amongst the decided tyrants.” “ You are in the right ; and it is not Louis XVI. that I solely accuse as being the cause of his fall ; the royalists had as great a share in it as the republicans. The friends of the throne, by spreading reports in the provinces, that the king did not approve of the new order of things, and that, deprived of his liberty, he was obliged to sanction them, raised doubts as to his good faith, by adding, that his acceptance did not bind him to any thing, as it was forced from him, and that the new laws were of no value, they caused him to be looked upon as an enemy to the revolution ; and in giving it to be understood that his speeches to the assembly were only made to prevent greater disorder, they in some degree

degree authorised the revolutionists to spread a report that every word the king had uttered was false, and a step towards treason. Therefore, Mercier, Cara, and Gorsas, when in any of their venomous papers they wanted to blacken any of the actions of Louis XVI. rested for support upon these imprudent speeches of the artless aristocrats. Follow him through the revolution; he gave himself up to its course, without even seeming to be troubled about it. He declares in his letters to the ambassadors at foreign courts, ‘ That he has given his free acceptance to the new form of government; that the revolution is the annihilation of a multitude of abuses in which the power of kings has never consisted; that it is an atrocious calumny to say that the king is not free; that the Frenchmen who have voluntarily exiled themselves from their country, instead of partaking of its glory, if they are not its enemies, have at least abandoned their post of citizens.’ Then suddenly retracting, he says, in the declaration he left on his departure for Varennes, ‘ That all he had done since
he

he had been in Paris is void, that he protests against it on the plea of his having at that time been a prisoner." "Allow me to say," said Lord B. "that bringing these two declarations together is not being impartial; it would appear to any one after what you have said, that these acts immediately followed each other, whereas there was above a year between them." "That's of little consequence, they are sufficient to prove that he was always contradicting himself." "He was governed by circumstances." "None that could authorise such changeableness." "His situation was very critical, continually tossed from pillar to post, he had never any time to reflect, nor to act for himself. I cannot compare Louis XVI. to any thing more properly than to a harpsichord surrounded by children, every one eager to touch the keys, from which discordant sounds are thus drawn, and the instrument from being handled by them loses all sound, and becomes quite useless." "By the comparison you draw, you make a machine of our king." "I imitate the assembly; what was in effect the consti-

constitutional king more than a mannikin without power and without dignity? He was reduced to perform the part of a rich landholder, who had only to name his stewards and his servants." "It is true that he was stripped of his most valuable prerogatives, and that he had no longer any thing to be grateful for, nor any thing to hope for." "To which add, that he could not repress any thing without the concurrence of the administration, who, by their nature, were necessarily against him." "I will confess that royalty was so much disfigured, as not to be known; for what does a throne supported by equality mean? Equality and royalty must imply a contradiction." "Mean! nothing at all, our government in England includes these two points, and even more; examine it well, and you will find therein, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, blended together, and yet they all agree well." "That is very true, but their powers are so equally balanced, that instead of hurting, they support each other. It was not thus with our new constitution; it only presented a number of ill-suited

suiting parts, without any connection between them; it was truly a piece of patch-work, without any connection or harmony. But as we have talked sufficiently on this subject, let us continue our researches."

"Very willingly," said Lord B. "but first tell me, whether the declaration that the king left behind him on setting out for Varennes, is his own composition." "I give you my word that it is, besides which I will shew you an undeniable proof of it. Examine these voluminous sheets of paper, they are his draft of it." "What! forty-eight sheets of great letter paper, in small writing, all blotted with this one subject?" "Blotted indeed! pray mind the scratchings out, the interlinings, and all sorts of corrections, and you will find that there is much more scratched out than what remains." "It is very true, I even find in different places several following pages crossed out. This work must have cost him a great deal of labour." "There is no more doubt of that, than there is about his indeterminateness in the reflections he has inserted. Examine it well,

well, and you will find that he has first written a strong expression, then scratched it out for an entirely opposite one, then blotted that out, and after having considered a little once more, he lastly has employed a mixed term."

"This work affords a true image of the conflicts he underwent in composing it. But how does it happen that it is not among the papers made use of in the prosecution against him?"

"Because it has not been called for, although it is known to many of the deputies." "What will be done with it?" "It will be deposited amongst the records." "It is right to keep it, as it is a valuable and curious memorial."

"What paper is that overloaded with figures?" "It is an abridgment that the king has amused himself in making from a work of the economists, to know what quantity of corn the lands produce, and how much is consumed in France; the result of which is, that the harvest yields 78,473,380 setiers of corn, each weighing 240 pounds, of which fifty-four million of setiers are made into bread, one million into hair powder, and for the use of the
colo-

colonies, and that eleven millions are requisite for feed." "According to which you have a surplus of twelve millions; whence does it arise that in France there is frequently a great scarcity?" "From exportation." "If one reflects, it appears that very little land is required to feed a man." "Half an arpent is sufficient, allowing that he daily eats two pounds of bread*, but all these economical calcu-

* Before the revolution, our economists assured us that France contained 230 leagues by 220, which makes 50,600 square leagues, containing above 236,744,000 arpents of land. By dividing these arpents among twenty-five millions of inhabitants, each would have nine arpents, and about 43 perches. They add, that the quantity of cultivated land only amounted to 120 millions of arpents, which would be no more than four and four-fifths of an arpent, for each inhabitant.

The twenty-five millions of inhabitants were dispersed in 400 cities and towns, 43,000 country or market towns and villages.

There were in France.

Thirteen parliaments.

Four sovereign courts.

Forty governments.

Eighteen archbishopricks.	- -	} yielding annually 5,000,000 livres.
One hundred and eleven bishopricks.		
Forty thousand parishes,		

Eight

calculations are no more than approximations. How was it possible, for example, for Expilly to be able to know that France consumed six hundred thousand head of cattle, and ten thousand

Eight hundred abbies for men.

Three hundred and twenty abbies, or priories, for women.

Six hundred and seventy chapters of canons.

Twenty-four chapters of canonessees, or noble women.

Sixteen houses of chiefs of orders.

Fifteen thousand common convents.

Six grand priories of Malta, enjoying a revenue of 1,074,966 livres.

Four bailiwicks.

Two hundred and fifty commanderies.

Four convents of nuns, who were the ladies of knights.

About five hundred thousand ecclesiastics, possessing a revenue of one hundred and thirty millions.

The productive revenue of France was valued at two thousand and a half to three thousand millions, establishing a capital of at least forty thousand millions of livres.

The average contribution was twenty-five livres a head.

The king owed three thousand millions and six hundred millions, for which he paid two hundred and seventy millions interest.

His revenues amounted to four hundred and ninety millions.

There therefore remained to him two hundred and twenty millions.

But as he spent three hundred and forty millions, there was a deficiency of one hundred and twenty millions.

land sheep?" "In the same manner that some of my countrymen," said Lord B. "have calculated the lives of men."

"If you wish to know the method by which the king wrote his secret instructions, examine this polygraphical table, of which Montfort is the inventor; it contains as many moveable pillars, as there are letters in our alphabet; every pillar bears twenty-four signs, numbers, or letters; the seven notes of musick serve for the key, and by means of this moveable double thread which is fixed at will upon one of these notes, you have such an alphabet as you desire; for example, fix this double thread upon the note *sol*, and then run your eye along the line that it marks, and you will read the following alphabet—12—etc—m—o—14—18—a—9—20—t—v—16—x—*. 6—17—c—5—b—6—v—9—h—2, which answer to the common alphabet. Thus if you want to write the word *majesté*, 16. 12. 20. 4. 5. b. 4, and the word *nation*, x. 12. b. 20. *. x. In order to bewilder the shrewdness of the decyphers, change your key when you write a second letter, and by fixing it on note *fa*, you will have a very different

different alphabet.* With this table you can vary your characters twenty-four times."

"As there is nothing more here worth your attention, let us go into the queen's library; this room which separates it from that we are going to enter, served for the laundry."

"I am much surpris'd to find every thing in such great order in this library," Lord B. remarked; "not a book is out of its place, the
glafs

* Polygraphy, or rather steganography, which means a secret manner of writing by characters or cyphers, was known to the ancients. Polybus says, that Aceneas the Tactician, invented, above two thousand years ago, twenty modes of different writing. This discovery remained dormant, till Tritemus Abbot, of Spanheim, revived it by writing a treatise upon this art. The superstitious Boville pretends that it is a diabolical invention. Paslevin supported this assertion, which determined Frederick the Second, elector of the Palatinate, to have the work of Tritemus, which he had in his library, burnt. In the sixteenth century, Caramnel, Gaspar Schot, Wolfsang, and Ernest Eidel published different dissertations upon writing in cyphers. In 1624, a duke of Lunenburg caused a treatise, entitled Cryptographia, to be printed. This method of writing is at present made use of from the sovereign down to the private individual. Ozanam, in his mathematical recreations, speaks of this method of writing, and of the way to decypher it. But he who has contributed the most to the art of decyphering, is Doctor Wallis.

glass doors are not broken ; what a contrast to every other room that we have seen !” “ It is certainly a phænomenon ; we were at first as much surprisèd as you are.” “ There can be little doubt but that your fans-culottes did not make their appearance here.” “ On the contrary, they were in every nook of the palace, no hole escapèd them.” “ Considering how violent they were against the queen, I should never have supposed the only room they respected, to be that in which she took her recreations.” “ This is the reason ; the commandant Westerman told me, that he was the first who entered this room, the crowd who followed him was going to destroy every thing here, as they had done elsewhere ; one of them laid hold of two books, which the commandant immediately snatchèd from him, put into their place, and at the same time said, ‘ Woe be to him that touches any thing here, I will cut off his head immediately.’ These few words had such an effect, that every one directly fled, and to prevent destruction, he placed two men that he could depend upon, in this room, to forbid any one coming in.”

“ Let

“ Let us see what was the queen’s taste in reading ; Ha ! ha ! she seemed to be fond of English novels, she has a complete collection, but they are translated into French.” “ And they are in a very small size ; it was she who brought eighteens into fashion, and they will continue to be so for a long time, on account of their conveniency.” “ It is true that a young girl who wishes her mother not to know what she reads, may very easily conceal such small books, and not be caught at her *studies*.” “ Fortunately they only print novels and trifling productions in this size.” “ Are you not afraid that the encyclopædia will be printed in eighteens, it would make a curious work.” “ I think there is quite enough of it in octavo.” “ I suppose the queen was fond of music, for here is plenty of it.” “ She was allowed to be an excellent musician. Near to the music you see are all the tokens of a good house-wife, needles, thread, and a stocking half knitted ; it was with these kind of things that she amused herself.” “ I did not imagine that the queen of France amused herself with sewing and knitting ; what a contrast to her taste for drefs !”

“Less than you think ; these works only employed her fingers, and gave her time for reflection. I am really of opinion that all the queen’s plans and projects were formed and digested while she was thus employed.” “It is true, that to her alone is attributed what little resistance Louis XVI. made, during the revolution.” “They are in the right that say so, for if he had followed her advice, I am confident that he would either have been re-established upon his throne, or have fallen in a manner more creditable to himself.” “I know that she was the principal cause of the emigration of the French nobility, whom she maintained beyond the frontiers, by the money she sent to Calonne, who at the same time was her banker, and her minister to Condé.” “Yes, but you certainly do not know, that on the tenth of August, she herself put arms into the hands of the king, and told him to make use of them as a son worthy of the great Henry.” “This deed raises her in my esteem, and in my eyes blots out her faults. Do you know any particulars of this anecdote?” “I will tell you those I am acquainted with; The queen
from

from the informations she received through her agents,* being convinced that the attack upon the

* It is at present known and allowed by the partisans of royalty, among others by the ancient minister Bertrand de Molleville in his memoirs, that the court had a private police, and that all the discoveries it made were brought to the queen; besides the minister Bertrand, La Tour du Pin, D'Hervilly, and La Porte, were at the head of it. In support of what I have mentioned, I will give you some of the written informations delivered to D'Hervilly, and found amongst his papers in the palace of the Tuileries.

“ The 5th of August, 1792, a man named Nicolas, a waterman on the port Saint Paul, at the instigation of the friends of the rights of men, is to commit murder. The instrument for this crime is hung up in the room of this society, by Fournier, the elder; Bory is secretary. M. M. G. and D. have delivered notes on this subject to M. Vadier, justice of peace, Montmorency-street, No. 1, near the temple.”

“ Information of the 6th. Fournier, an American, Rossignol Nicolas Lapipe, a porter of the port, are ordered to sound the people about the projects against the royal family, and to march at the head of the confederates. It is asserted that Santerre, Rossignol, and Dejon, daily distribute eight hundred livres in the faubourg of Saint Marcel.”

“ Orleans has assured a gentleman named Blin, who is in disguise at Paris, and who is not to appear before the instant that the plan is to be undertaken, that on Wednesday, the fauxbourgs of Saint Marcel and Saint Antoine, are to meet together for the perpetration of the intended murder; that the *gens d'armes* both foot and horse, only wait for the

the palace was agreed on, had made with the utmost expedition and with great secrecy, a species

signal to fall upon the palace, under pretext of driving away the Swiss guards."

Report of the 7th. "A detachment of Belgians, arrived the 5th, has sent a deputation to the society of the rights of men, to request that they may be incorporated with the Marfeillois and the confederates under the inspection of Santerre."

"Messieurs Balzac and Blin, on the evening of the 6th of August, walked from the Louvre to the Greve, by the cornport, and the fauxbourg of Saint Antoine. It is believed that they carried with them the sword intended to cut off the heads of the king and queen."

Report of the 8th. "Yesterday at ten o'clock in the evening, Deputy Chabot with a man not known, met Fournier, the American, at the corner of la rue Echelle, of whom they inquired whether the fauxbourgs had decided to march; Tournier assured them that they had; but," he added, "the attack must not be delayed."

Report of the 9th. "Every one is in motion, and they are publicly talking of making the attack this evening, and giving no quarter. Westerman has given in the plan, and is to command; he is a German officer."

Nothing can be more curious than the reports of spies to the police, at the time of a revolution; as each party had theirs, they may be of great assistance to the historian, who will often be able to learn curious anecdotes from them, and the names of persons necessary to his sheets. The police is to history what chemistry is to mixed bodies, the one is the anatomy

species of corselet for the king. On the morning of the tenth of August, after he had visited rather than reviewed the troops which surrounded the palace; she went to him in his apartment, and having convinced him that a struggle was inevitable, she endeavoured to persuade him to put himself at the head of those of his subjects, who had devoted themselves to his defence, by saying to him, ‘ On your conduct this day depends your future glory; if you are to fall, let it at least be with your arms in your hands, and in defending the crown of which you are only the steward: imitate Henry the Fourth; arm yourself and fight.’ Having thus said, she presented to him the corselet which I now show you, and a pair of pistols; but the king refused to follow her advice.”

We

tomy of political events, the other that of natural bodies. I hope to be able some time hence to present to the public the history of the police of the court, of that of Orleans, and of that of the jacobins; therein will be seen the at present unknown source of more than one event that took place at the revolution.

We examined the corselet, it was of white satin folded nine times and stitched, and had a thin layer of horse-hair between each fold; it was without sleeves, and to be worn under the coat; from a trial made it was found impenetrable to a musket ball or a sword,* the pistols were plain and eight inches long.

“ I admire the queen’s character,” said the Englishman, “ if the king had been like to her, we should not now be witnessing this disorder. If she committed many follies when she came to the throne, it must be allowed that in these latter times she has made amends for them. Without being a great royalist, I think one may be allowed to say thus much. It appears to me that there are three very distinct periods in the queen’s life; while she was dauphiness she was a most amiable woman, solicitous to please every body. Arrived at the throne she became light, coquetish, thoughtless, but still amiable. In the revolution her real character was displayed, she abandoned frivolity and showed herself

* The deputy Couthon who was guillotined with Robespierre, got possession of the corselet, and it is not known what is since become of it.

herself to be a magnanimous woman.” “Why did she not always remain dauphiness? Why did she not content herself with only making revolutions in the ornaments and dress of her sex?”

“To hear what you say, one would be led to suppose that the queen was the cause of the revolution.” “If she did not give birth to our revolution, by the opposition that she threw in its way, she gave rise to that character of fury and vengeance which has stained many of its periods.” “How so.”

“Thus—when, after many vain efforts to prevent the meeting of the states-general, the queen was still compelled to see them assemble, she, with her council, formed the design of dissolving them upon the very first circumstance of discontent at their proceedings, which the king should show; and you will recollect that the first deliberations of the chamber of the communes gave him very great displeasure.”

“Yes, first of all, the verifications of the powers in common. Each member voting, &c. But before you proceed, pray tell me of whom the queen’s council was composed.” “The principal personages were the comte of Artois,

tois, the barons of Breteuil and of Besenval, and Madame de Polignac.”* “ I thank you.” “ The members of this council harraffed the king without ceasing, and by their speeches increased his fears and ill humour ; and the queen in her private conversations with him enlarged upon every thing that the others had mentioned ; it is even said that in one of these conversations, exasperated to hear her husband answer her coolly, ‘ that every thing that the states-general did or wished to do, only tended to the destruction of those abuses which tarnished the lustre of the throne, and to render to royalty all its strength and grandeur.’ she answered him by this extraordinary comparison, ‘ If you believe that by having daily one or more of your prerogatives taken from you, you will become stronger and greater, royalty can only be compared to a ditch which grows the wider, as the earth continues to be dug out of it.’ The king ended by giving himself up for a short time to their councils, in consequence of which, troops were brought

* See the *secret correspondence* already mentioned, pages 62, 76, 93, and 102.

brought to Paris, with which it was intended to dissolve the states, and to make Paris submit. The weakness of the king caused everything to fail. From this moment the queen formed her projects, and directed her plans without communicating them to her weak spouse. After the scenes at Versailles, she saw no resource but in the league that she was forming beyond the frontiers, and into which she pressed, and in some degree forced, many a Frenchman against his will*. When a noble wished

* I will only mention one instance. The marquis or chevalier du Tresor, an estimable officer, deferred his emigration as long as he could; but at length he found that his honour and reputation were at stake, if he remained any longer in France. Before he abandoned his country, he with tears in his eyes, said in confidence to one of his friends, "I know that I am doing a foolish thing in going away; the league that is forming to save the king, will be the very thing that will ruin him and all the nobles. But a mistaken point of honour, and the gratitude I owe to the prince of Lambesc, oblige me to act against my own opinion. I must bid France and my friends adieu for ever." He set out like a man in despair.

From having mentioned the prince of Lambesc, I am led to say something more about him; this man, whose violent petulance on the 12th of August 1789, gave the decisive stroke to the revolution, retained the haughty and surly looks
of

wished to announce his emigration to the queen, it was settled that he should go to the palace to
pay

of the German barons, and the harshness of character of the military officers of that country. Dabins, major in a *mestre de camp's* regiment of horse, was his mentor; it was under him that he began his military career, and it was he who taught him harshness of behaviour. I have heard him say to the prince of Lambesc in a grand evolution, "Prince, you go to work like a stupid hog; know, that if you are a learned courtier in the gallery at Versailles, you are here an ignorant officer. Go to your room until I give you leave to come out of it." M. de Lambesc obeyed without replying a single word. These gross lectures, too often repeated, rendered the prince harsh to the soldiers, the consequence of which was, that when he bought the regiment of Beaufremont, madame de Brionne went in vain through the ranks trying to persuade the dragoons to drink to the toast of *vive Lambesc*, (long live Lambesc) the wisest of them would say nothing, and the more resolute drank *vive Beaufremont*.

Imitating the cruelty of the baron Pirch, who formed the line of his regiment, by putting his horse into a gallop, and the point of his sword to the breast of the soldiery; the prince of Lambesc in a charge of cavalry obliged two squadrons to pass over the body of an unfortunate dragoon whose horse had thrown him; being more desirous of preserving the line of his regiment, than the life of a man. All Epinal was witness to this transaction.

When the prince of Lambesc left France, he hoped as many more emigrés did, to return after some time victorious; but in 1792, when he saw the turn that the revolution had
taken,

pay his respects to his majesty, and that on retiring he should, when he made his obeisance, incline himself towards the north, which signified that he was going to increase the league."

"The queen interested in her cause the emperor

taken, he claimed his personals which were under sequestration. The following is his petition to the municipality of Versailles.

"Charles Eugene, prince of Lorraine, is not a French emigrant; he was born a prince of the house of Lorraine, not of France; but reigning in the empire and in Tuscany, the quality and title of his being a foreign prince have never been disputed in France, he and his ancestors have never ceased to enjoy them. If the youngest branch of the house of Lorraine has settled itself in France, it has not thereby lost the title of its birth, the title of prince of the reigning house which cannot be done away; it has not given up its natural right of uniting itself to the chief of its house. It has not given up the perpetual entails to which it is entitled."

"The prince of Lambesc in leaving France, only made use of that liberty which natural right has given him; before there existed any law in France against emigrants, he gave up all the employments he had there; he sent in his resignation to the king, who accepted it. He is retired into his native country, to the emperor, who is the chief of his house; In 1790, he accepted the rank of major-general of the imperial troops, and lastly has established and fixed his residence in that country which is his own."

Copied from the original, presented the 12th April,

1790.

peror her brother, the king of Sweden, and of Prussia; the latter was at first very averse to it, but afterwards came into it, for reasons that I shall hereafter mention to you. The emperor refused to act as long as the king remained in Paris, which occasioned his unfortunate journey. In a word every thing that was done to release the king from slavery, and to enable him to regain his authority, was the work of the queen, and if they all miscarried, the fault lay with Louis XVI. who deranged every thing by his want of resolution, and by his contradictions and oppositions.”

There being nothing more in the queen's library worthy of our attention; the commissary took us into the council chamber on the first story. A round table, five feet in diameter, covered with a green cloth with a gold lace, stood in the middle, on it were placed ink-stands, ready made pens, paper, and several candlesticks with wax candles in them, to which add the great cleanliness of the floors, a good fire, a large secretary, and some pasteboard covers, and you will have an exact description of the room, of which the general appearance indicated

cated that a council was going to meet there. "Without doubt," said the Englishman, "a meeting is going to be held here." "Rolland, from a whim that cannot be accounted for," said the commissary, "after having had this room prepared for a council chamber, on pretence that on the ground floor the ministers were too much interrupted, and stared at by *the badaux**, who formed themselves into groups before the windows to look in at them; insisted upon having this room for a council chamber; after he had been here one day, he called us in, told us the room was too cold for him, and desired that we would have the king's bed-chamber cleaned, as that room appeared to him to be more convenient. It was in vain that we represented to him, that that room was very small, that the bed was standing, and that it was very dark, having only one window with small panes to give it light. He persisted in having it, and for four days past the ministers have occupied that room. As it is so, let us profit by this fire to continue our

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* Badaux plural, badau singular, is the nick-name for a Parisian, the same as a cockney for a Londoner.

researches and observations more comfortably ; while we warm our legs, let us examine what this porte-feuille contains.

The first papers that we took up, related to the declaration of war to the emperor ; we found nothing but what we were acquainted with. It is known that the king strongly opposed this war ; but that the leading party, at the head of which was Brissot, caused it to be declared ; this epoch gave rise to the party of Robespierre, he opposed this war as much as he could ; the debates on this question in the assembly and at the Jacobins, are very interesting. When it was to be decided in council, the king, before he yielded to the majority, took the precaution to have every minister sign his own advice ; these deeds he preserved, but as he without doubt feared that he should lose them, or that they might be purloined from him, he put them into the hands of monsieur Morris, minister from the American states, who most likely now has them.

It was at this time that he sent to M. Chauvelin, his minister plenipotentiary in England, a letter for king George, which incontrovertibly

tibly proves the pains he took to prevent foreign powers leaguings against France; in this letter, of which this is the rough draft, I desire you will take notice of this passage. “I embrace this opportunity to prove to you how much I am affected by all the public marks of attachment that you have shown me. I am much obliged to you for not having joined yourself to the powers that are concerting together against France at this time, by which I perceive that you have more properly regarded my real interest, and have better judged of the position of France.” “These few words are sufficient,” said Lord Bedford, “flatly to contradict all those who pretend that the English government fomented the troubles and the war in France,” “I will freely confess to you that they are no proof to me.” “How so?” “Your politics consist in removing, as much as lies in your power, peace from your neighbouring countries, and in avoiding as much as possible to take any part in their quarrels: this is the reason that when every thing around you is calm, the arts gain perfection, and your neighbours supply themselves at home with

many necessary articles that in war time they take from you. This policy increases your trade, augments your advantages, and maintains your arts." "You then suppose that our cabinet had influence in your revolution?"

"Certainly. And for this general reason, that no state, however small, sees with indifference two other powers at war; always from some motive of private interest, it assists, with, at least, its advice, and promises one of them in the hope of profiting itself. Would you make me believe that England will behold our change of government with indifference? That is an impossibility; she has to revenge herself of the American war, without mentioning the reproaches that the Parisians are continually making to the Londoners upon the fate of Charles the First." "You therefore think that my countrymen stir up the persecution that is now carrying on?" "Far be from me the barbarous idea that the cabinet of Saint James's envenoms this very serious business. But you won't make me believe that more than one Englishman does not witness with secret joy the unfortunate turn that it has taken. With-

out

out enlarging any further on this delicate point, let us take a view of the conduct of your government; it profits by our domestic quarrels to strengthen itself in the new world, to seize in India part of the nabob's dominions, to watch a favorable moment to set foot into our American possessions, already disquieted by the equality promised to men of different colours. Besides which, England is calling into her island, those of our Lyonesse manufacturers, whom a difference in opinion has caused to leave France; in the last century she enriched herself by the industry of French religionists, who fled from France to avoid persecution; now she wishes to shine by that of our fugitive royalists."

"According to what you say, England only grows rich upon the spoils of France; nevertheless our arts are grown into so high a degree of perfection, that you cannot attain to it." "That may be, but if you have brought them to perfection, we invented them; for certainly he who contrived the first oar and the first sail, and therewith crossed in a weak bark, a small arm of the sea, having only the sun or the stars for his guides, has a greater right to im-

mortality, than the experienced mariner in fitting out a ship with all its appertenances, and crossing the sea assisted by a rudder and a compass. Unfortunately man is always so unjust as to forget the inventor, and only to give attention to him who brings what is invented to perfection." "Confess, my dear commissary, that you have just now vented a true dose of national pride. This overflowing of the gall, makes me esteem you the more. Let us return to our subject. You say that England at this moment looks upon your political debates, as a jealous and ambitious neighbour?" "And I add, that we are pretty certain that she feeds, if she does not excite, our troubles, and without being a prophet, you will soon hear more than one Frenchman call out with Cato, *Quidquid sit, delenda est Carthago*." "Happily the threat is easier than the performance. Should this misfortune take place, I hope it will not decrease our friendship." "I am a Frenchman, and you know that after a defeat or a victory, neither a Frenchman nor an Englishman recriminates."

A bun-

A bundle of letters, labelled, "Correspondence with M. Demoustier, ambassador in Prussia," fixed our attention; about one hundred letters which we must have read, began to damp our curiosity, when fortunately we discovered the following extracts, which let us into the whole correspondence.

Before M. Demoustier was sent to Berlin, he presented a diplomatic plan, in which he endeavoured to prove that France ought to determine to support Prussia against Russia and Austria.

In a letter of the 20th December, 1790, M. Montmorin wrote to M. Demoustier. "If mention is made to you of any proposal, the object of which may be to pass the bounds of a plain good understanding, you will receive it favourably, but at the same time observe, that you must send an account of it, and ask for instructions."

The 10th January, 1791, M. Demoustier writes. "It appears that there universally prevails here a hearty conviction, and which I will readily believe that the King of Prussia himself fully feels, that the Interests of Prussia require that it be united with France."

The 18th of the same month he learnt, that in 1790, " Monsieur Bischofswerder had, in the king's council, proposed war against the emperor. He mentions the concern expressed by one of the King of Prussia's agents, that this prince had refused to give the Belgians the assistance he had promised them."

The 26th of the same month he expresses himself in such a manner as to leave no longer a doubt as to the disposition of the King of Prussia. " It is evident," he says, " that the discussion on the commerce between France and Prussia was only brought forward to lead to explications upon a more intimate connection between the two powers. The decided step that M. Bischofswerder took in coming to me, is a proof of it. A fear, which has weight with the King of Prussia is, the resolution that the emperor may be induced to take, whose promises do not appear to be much depended upon. The King of Prussia therefore seems to look upon the emperor as an open enemy. His design in seeking to lead us to explications on his disposition towards a more intimate connection with us, appears to be in order eventually to prepare resources against the attacks to which he

he may be exposed from the emperor. What proves the eagerness with which the King of Prussia seeks the means to form a bond of union with us, is, the steps that his agents in Paris are taking with every one whom they imagine may be able to forward his plan."

In the same letter he declares that in Berlin every one is persuaded, that the queen and those who are of her party, alone prevent the alliance between France and Prussia; that the French revolution had given pleasure in Prussia, because it was believed that it would destroy all that influence which could oppose its alliance with France. He gave notice, that Ephraim, the Jew, had been sent into France to endeavour to destroy this influence, and he concluded with saying, "I have no doubt, but that the King of Prussia's wish is that we break our connections with the Court of Vienna, and that he will use every means in his power to remove all obstacles to his views."

M. De Montmorin, in his answer, the 23d January, 1791, writes in the following terms about this agent. "The Sieur Ephraim, whom I mentioned to you in my last letters, appears to me to have been sent hither only to intrigue,
and

and that in the most criminal manner. - I will not allow myself to repeat the speeches that I am told he has publicly made, because they are too atrocious ; I will content myself with saying, that this intriguer has sought, and still seeks, to connect himself with persons whom he imagines, (from the zeal they have shewn in the revolution) to become the more ready to listen to him. His object is to expose you to the emperor, and he thinks, that by enflaming the public mind against the queen, he shall succeed the more readily, and for this reason there is no kind of language that he does not allow himself to hold against her. I do not fear the effect of his speeches upon any of the members of the assembly to whom he may have addressed himself, he certainly can only have been heard with that horror which such language deserves ; but he has taken to secret practices, and tries to work upon the journalists *. I am almost certain

* Is it not possible that the source from which the Cara's, the Gorfa's, the Marat's, &c. have drawn the impudent and disgusting anecdotes with which their journals are filled, has been the speeches of Ephraim the Jew. The time of this Jew's residence, and the dates of the journals, the curious may consult; their connection is at the least very striking.

certain that he distributes money, and I know that the bankers pay him considerable sums. I cannot believe that the court of Berlin employs such means. That, however, which might give some foundation for such an opinion, and which I am far from giving way to, is, that this Ephraim was sent into Brabant to have an eye upon the revolution that the King of Prussia had excited there, and that he only came to Paris, when he found that Brussels did not afford any farther employment for his zeal.

In a letter of the 18th of February of the same year, he says, "The aim of Ephraim the Jew, is certainly to produce a rupture between us and the court of Vienna, and nothing can be easier; but the means he employs are bad; he does not consider the morality of the business, he has only considered its result. But this emissary has within these twelve days past changed his tone and his language; he now does not threaten us in the name of the emperor."

On the 4th of February, 1791, M. Demoustier, no longer doubting the disposition of the Prussian minister, asked M. Montmorin if he might allow that minister to speak freely
upon

upon the alliance he wished for.—What was M. De Montmorin's answer? It was, "Sir, an alliance with Prussia cannot at present be talked of; such an event must depend on many uncertain circumstances, some of which are scarcely probable."

M. Demoultier appears to have been disconcerted with this laconic answer, and he mentions his surprise, in his letter of the 29th of the same month, of which the following is a part. "I infinitely applaud myself for the reserve I practised in answering to the advances that have been made me here. I should besides have run the greater risk in yielding to them, as my instructions seemed to prescribe to me the task of weakening, and even destroying, all the engagements that the court of Berlin had entered into against the interests of France. I see Sir, by your dispatch, No. 5, that the king's council has resolved, that at the present juncture we ought to confine ourselves to another plan, which will not be difficult to execute, but which will not have any weight with this court. Every body must know, that it is difficult for a long time to support the task of keeping a power
in

in suspense, whose interests oblige it to require a decision."

M. Demoustier, viewing things as a good politician, or rather not being acquainted with the secret intrigue of the cabinet of Paris, foretold what has since happened; he said, that if they firmly resolved to elude and reject the steps and advances of the Prussian minister, that the king of Prussia's resentment might carry him to form a coalition with the emperor against France.

The French minister rebuked this fear, and represented it as ridiculous; M. Montmorin rejected it as injurious to the friendly dispositions of Leopold, which he perfectly knew, and pretended that only ill intentioned and ill instructed persons could foresee such dangers.

Nevertheless M. Demoustier could not divest himself of the idea of this coalition; but seeing that he was mistaken, or perhaps pretending to believe he was, when he found that he alone was of that opinion, he wrote to M. Montmorin, "What removes my fears upon this event, is the assurance, sir, you give me,

me, that the king's council cannot perceive the danger that ill intentioned or ill instructed persons, perhaps, make it their business to foresee."

M. Demoustier did not appear sufficiently weaned from the alliance with Prussia, and in order to prevent his returning to this idea, to which his fears about the coalition brought him back, it became necessary to speak to him more clearly, which Montmorin did. He word for word thus expresses himself in his dispatch, No. 8.

"It is the king's intention to live in good understanding with the King of Prussia; but his majesty has no desire to contract an alliance with Frederick William, because he has no cause to break that which exists between him and the court of Vienna. This disposition, which is the actual basis of our politics, will not prevent our taking a real interest in the support and the prosperity of the Prussian monarchy, &c. You will from hence judge that we are without apprehension about the political views of Leopold; indeed we have none; but if this prince should afterwards shew an intention that we cannot now suppose he has, we shall

shall know how to throw obstacles in his way."

"I have finished these extracts." "They are sufficient," said Lord B. "to prove, if we give credit to your ambassador, that if you at present have to wrestle with the King of Prussia, the fault lies with the cabinet of the Tuileries, for, according to M. Demoustier, nothing was more easy than for France to have formed an alliance that would have united you with Prussia."

"What you say is the more probable, as we are at present convinced that M. Montmorin did not give his real sentiments, when he assured Demoustier, in his letters to him, that the emperor's intentions were very pacific; he was too well served not to know, at the time he was writing those letters, that the emperor was promising his assistance to Louis XVI. upon condition that he should leave Paris; he also knew from another quarter through the indiscretion of the refugee nobles at Coblenz, that the emperor was taking his measures to attack France upon the first favourable opportunity."

"To which add, that he was informed of the
convention

convention of Pilnitz.” “Moreover, the freedom, sincerity and reflections of M. Demoustier displeased so much, that after some time he was recalled from Berlin, to be sent on an embassy to the Porte.” “It is owing,” said Lord B. “to interest and circumstances that sovereigns are united or opposed ; this is almost always their political language. If you will not unite with me against such a monarch, I will join him and attack you. Pretences for a rupture are never wanting, they are found even in the treaties of peace. Frederick William now carries on war against you, because last year your cabinet would not enter into a new alliance with him. When Louis XVI, in 1786, endeavoured to become a conciliator in the quarrels that subsisted in the United Provinces, the King of Prussia ordered the Count de Goertz, his ambassador at the Hague, to hold such language to the Dutch, as to render the intentions of your monarch suspicious. Sovereigns are never quiet spectators in the quarrels or projects of their neighbours ; from some motive or other, they always interfere in them, either from the
fear

fear of loss, or the hope of gain. Maintaining the balance of power in Europe, serves for a pretext."

"Without doubt my lord, you know the woman on whom the eyes of Europe are at present fixed, the *chevaliere* D'Eon?" "Very well."

"This woman, who is an enemy to tranquillity, after having served Louis XV. as a secret spy in London, now wants to perform a part in our revolution; she has by letter proposed to the national assembly to raise and command a legion to support the cause of liberty." "I cannot believe that this famous woman was a spy to a king who obliged her to leave France." "This letter from Vergennes to Louis XVI. will prove the fact; but as it requires some explanation I will give it to you."

"Louis XV. cheated by his ministers, ambassadors, and mistresses, wishing very much to know the true state of his kingdom, established secret agents at all the courts of Europe, and formed a correspondence with them, at the head of which the prince of Conti was first

placed, and after him the count of Broglie.* The chevaliere D'Eon, then in England, was chosen for one of the agents. On the decease of Louis XV. M. de Broglie acquainted the present king with the correspondence, who by the advice of Maurepas and Vergennes, gave orders to suppress it, and to demand the papers from the different agents. The chevaliere D'Eon refused to deliver up her's, without certain conditions, that she had the assurance to demand, were complied with; these were a sum of money, a pension, and leave to return into France. Thus stood the affair on the 8th of August, 1775, when Vergennes in this letter advises the king to send Beaumarchais to London, to settle with this female officer. Vergennes' words are 'As it would be very dangerous to leave D'Eon in possession of the papers she has by her, let your majesty allow me to authorize the *sieur* Beaumarchais to go
and

* In 1793, we published this secret correspondence, under the title of *Politics of all the cabinets in Europe, during the reigns of Louis XV. and Louis XVI.* in two volumes, octavo. It has been since reprinted in three volumes in octavo, augmented with curious and learned notes, commentaries of M. Segur the elder. It may be had at Buiffon's, printer, Haute-Feuille-street.

and terminate this affair with her. If D'Eon will take the dress of her sex, there can be no harm in letting her return into France, but without that, she ought not to desire it."

"Beaumarchais succeeded in his commission; D'Eon gave up her papers, and returned to France in a female dress, with the cross of Saint Louis on her breast. Her intriguing spirit caused her to commit new follies; she was confined, but soon after regained London, from whence she now thunders forth against despots, and proposes to fight them. I am well informed that her proposals are refused."

"The following letter is one that the grand master of Malta wrote in 1790, to all the knights, not to take any part in the revolution; when M. de Virieu acquainted the king with it, this unfortunate monarch answered, 'I knew that the crown of France ought not to depend on the support of the order of Malta.' It must be allowed that this order is at present of very little use; when we are at peace with the Turks it only serves to protect the Levant trade."

"The Maltese may be called the canons of the sea." "It is certain that wars between the

different powers do not give them much uneasiness, they are attached to all and serve none ; it is a heterogeneous body with great expences and few resources."

" This bundle contains the constitutional act we have lately broken, and the notification that the king caused to be made of it to all the powers, with their answers." " I am curious to see the latter." " They are soon seen ; here is the abridgment that Montmorin made of them." " Give it me, that will satisfy me."

The pope has not returned an answer.

The emperor has written that he only wished what was to the satisfaction of the king and of royalty.

Charles IV. king of Spain, has replied that as he could not persuade himself that the king was at liberty, he should not answer his letters.

Victor Amedeus, king of Sardinia, has contented himself by declaring his affectionate sentiments for the king.

The king of England in his answer, gives assurance of the interest he takes in the welfare of the house of Bourbon, and of the subjects of Louis XVI.

The

The king of Sweden, Gustavus the Third, has declared himself rather cavalierly; he sent the letter back.

Elizabeth of Portugal, Catherine of Russia, and Ferdinand IV. king of Naples, have not sent any answers.

Christian VII. king of Denmark, replied that he hoped that the ancient love of the French would soon break forth with greater ardor.

Frederick William, king of Prussia, declares the sincere friendship that he has vowed to the king of France.

The elector of Mayence has not sent an answer.

The elector of Treves has written, that circumstances impose silence on him.

The elector of Saxony, treating the constitution as a mass of confusion, expresses his wishes for the king's happiness.

Charles Augustus, duke of Deux-Ponts, writes that nothing shall change the friendship and respect that he bears to the king.

The duke of Brunswick wishes the welfare of the king and of the French nation.

Holland says that it takes great interest in the prosperity of the French monarchy.

The Swiss republic, through the directory of Zurich, write that they will send the king's letter to all the cantons.

And lastly, Geneva declares, that it will always consider the prosperity of the nation and of the king, as its own personal advantage.

“ But I do not see that in this list, any mention is made of the dukes of Parma and Modena; of the electors of Cologne and Bavaria; nor of the republics of Genoa and Venice, nor even of the Grand Turk.”

“ No notice is taken of them in the account that the minister Montmorin delivered to the national assembly, on the 31st October, 1791, at the conclusion of which he declared that there were no hostilities to be feared.” “ I should not have drawn this conclusion, for I find except in that of Geneva, at least a great degree of coolness in the spirit of all these answers. Not one of the sovereigns says a syllable about the constitution.” “ Would you have them sound the praise of a charter which reduces royalty to a mere shadow?” “ It certainly is
not

not a king's business to extol it. But it grows late; let us defer, if you please, till to-morrow, the examination of the remainder of these papers." "With all my heart, I was going to make the same proposal to you."

TENTH DAY.

CONTINUATION

OF THE

VISIT TO THE PALACE.

CHAP. XIII.

Hitherto unknown Particulars relating to the Massacres in the Prisons, and the Persons arrested at Orleans.—Visit to the State Bed.—Singular Portrait of the King cut in Marble.—Particulars relating to the taking away of the Papers from the Iron Closet.—A Description of this Closet.—Breaking of the Seals by the Minister Rolland.—Examination of the Bed-chamber of Louis XVI.—Discovery of an old Will of the King's.—Visit to the Dauphin's Apartment.—His first Letter to the King.—Madames Apartment, her Occupations.—Visit to the Lodging Rooms of Persons belonging to the Court.—Anecdotes relating to the King's first Physician, the sworn and unsworn Priests, the Emigrés, and several Inhabitants of the Palace.

THE commissary and ourselves had scarcely entered the council chamber, to finish our examination of what had remained, before his colleagues, with agitated looks, entered it, to acquaint him that the minister Rolland had
come

come to the palace that morning at eight o'clock in great haste, and that after having asked for some packthread and a broom, he had shut himself in the king's bedchamber with Gamin the lock-smith. The commissary, laughing, asked "Whether the packthread was strong?" "Perhaps," added he, "the minister is tired of his life, and is going to hang himself; but, joking apart, this gives me suspicions. He perhaps wants to be before-hand with us in the researches that we are to make this evening. I shall be sorry for it if he is. But nothing can now be done but to watch him when he retires with Gamin. One of you must conceal himself, and watch to see whether he carries any thing away. Let us thus await the event."

After the other commissaries were gone, we continued our researches; the first thing that drew our attention was a collection of papers relative to the unhappy prisoners detained at Orleans, and cruelly put to death at Versailles, with some notes relative to the massacre of the prisoners in Paris. Notwithstanding the horror that these particulars inspired us all three with,

Bedfort,

Bedfort desired the commissary to run them over, in order to find whether they contained any circumstance that he was not acquainted with. "All that I see worth attention is the report of a member of the commune relating to the removal of madame de Lamballe into the prison of *La Force*. He relates that the carriage in which madame de Lamballe was, having stopped under the arch of Saint John, opposite to one of the doors of the *maison-commune**, the common people gathered about it, and insulted her with the most abusive language, that one man from amongst them proposed to *derouiller* (to take the rust off) the lanthorn-post of 1789, by drawing the unfortunate princess up it. He adds, that having heard this dreadful proposal, he immediately put on his scarf, and sprung into the carriage in order to keep the croud in awe, and desired one of his colleagues to go to the *commune*, and request them to fix upon a place where to place madame de Lamballe; that after long debates of the municipal corps, a verbal order

* The town-house, or guildhall, since the revolution, called the *maison-commune*.—*Translator*.

order was brought to him to transport her to *the hotel de la Force*, and that the mob insisted that the person who brought this order should go in the carriage with her. Discouraging with madame de Lamballe as we went along on the present events, I mentioned to her that after the affair of the 20th of June, La Fayette had done the court more harm than the opposition of the king and queen, and I assured her that by his proceedings, he had accelerated the day of the 10th of August. Madame de Lamballe certainly misunderstood what I said, for imagining that the only reason for attacking the king was, because it had appeared that he had authorised the proceedings of the general, she answered me, "For a word spoken, La Fayette would have been given up to you, for the court was not fond of him." I added, "the court has certainly no reason to praise him," "Certainly not," she keenly answered, "If it had not been for him, the royal family would not be in the humiliating situation they now are." The carriage stopping put an end to a conversation, which I thought it right to communicate to the minister."

"Do

“ Do you find any thing concerning madame de Tourzel ?” the Englishman asked. “ No.”

“ It astonishes every one who reflects on it, that the governess of the children of France, the friend of the queen, has not been included in the proscriptions ; there seems to be some concealed reason for this.” “ As this lady is still living, she will one day probably tell how she was saved, whether it was in consequence of a particular protection, or a concurrence of circumstances.” “ But, is it positively known why and by whom the massacre was determined upon ?” “ I will communicate to you what I have learnt from an eye witness, named Beignout ; these were his words :” “ On Thursday the 30th of August, I met in the coffee-house a friend of mine, who edited the journal entitled the *Avocat du peuple*. In a conversation I had with him upon the times, he told me that something extraordinary was plotting at the *commune* ; that by the order of two of the members that morning, chairs and a large table had been placed in a lower room at a distance from the frequented parts of the building, and that they were to meet there again

that

that evening secretly, with some other persons. From some words which escaped them, I understood that great transactions were in agitation. My curiosity prompted me to take a view of the room they were to meet in, and I discovered a hiding-place behind a boarded partition, from whence I could see and hear every thing without being seen myself." "I mentioned to him a wish that he would take me with him, with which he complied."

"After we had been hidden in our nook above half an hour, we saw eight persons follow each other into the room, whom I recognized through the crevices of the partition. One of them fastened the door on the inside, and they all seated themselves round the table, on which were an ink-stand, and some sheets of paper. Marat spoke the first, and said it was proper to frighten the convention which was soon to assemble, by a vigorous blow capable of making it tremble before the commune of Paris, who would by that means be enabled to cause it to act as they pleased. He then very coolly proposed as the means, murdering all the prisoners, whose death he said
would

would free Paris from so many enemies to the republic. This proposal was listened to, and discussed with the greatest *sang-froid* imaginable. They were unanimous as to the assassination, but differed on the mode in which it was to be performed: some proposed the firing of the different prisons, and the taking of means for preventing the prisoners' escape from them; but the fear of causing a general conflagration prevented this plan from being adopted. One said that pumps should be made use of to drown all the detained persons, after having locked them up in their cells; and in order to shew the validity of his proposal, he mentioned that some days since this expedient had been used with success to subdue some *insurgent** prisoners who had intrenched themselves within their cells in the Little Chatelet. Attention was for a while given to this proposal, and it being decided that the cells would not answer the purpose, they talked of digging ditches; lastly, a new project was proposed

* *Insurgent*, an insurgent, a name given in the revolution to one who was engaged in an insurrection.—*Translator*.

posed and discussed, which put an end to the drowning plan, and this was the one put into execution, the assassination ordered and performed by the vilest amongst the populace. The plan having been digested and agreed upon, the assassins were called in, and having terrified them by the danger that attended the Prussians being become masters of Longwy and Verdun; in order to prevent their reflecting, they made them drunk, and promised them ten crowns a head for the victims.

“ This is what I saw and heard,” Beignout said to me, “ I know that on the 2d of September power was given to these assassins to try the prisoners in the name of the nation; the trials and punishments were all invented by them; you are most likely curious,” the commissary added, “ to know the names of these atrocious persons, but prudence forbids me to mention them. The account I have given you will convince how dangerous it is to speak of them. *”

After

* Three of them are still alive, and bear about them no symptoms of remorse; their initials will sufficiently point them out, P...s, S....t, T.....n. The others were Marat,

After these days of blood, which will for ever stamp shame on the Parisians, fault on the national

Marat, Collot d'Herbois, Billaud Varennes, Danton, and Manuel. Reflect on the speech that the orator of the deputation of the city of Paris made at the bar of the legislative assembly on the 31st August; it is of a piece with the massacres. After having founded the praise of the provisional commune, which a decree of the assembly had lately dissolved, in order to prove the new services that this commune was preparing to perform, the orator Tallien adds, "We have caused the troublesome priests to be arrested, they are confined in a certain house, and within a few days the sun of liberty will not be darkened by their presence." Remember that the mayor and the *procureur syndic* were at the head of this deputation. The morning that the priests were massacred, Manuel in the public street said to the assassins, "Frenchmen, in the lawful vengeance that you are going to exercise, let not your axe strike all heads without distinction; the criminals that are confined in the dungeons are not all equally guilty."

The commune, or to speak more correctly, those of its members who had organised and directed the massacres (for most of them were not in the secret) being informed that the assassins stripped the victims when they were dead, sent Billaud de Varennes to the prisons in order to put a stop to this pillage. This bloody-minded man went to the abbey, entered the court of sacrifice, got upon a ballustrade, and said:

"My friends, my good friends! the commune sends me to you, to represent to you that you dishonour, "*cette BELLE JOURNÉE*,"

national assembly, and crime on the mayor and municipal officers of the capital, the destroyers not finding any food in the empty dungeons for their rage for murder, turned their ferocious looks towards the unhappy persons detained in the prisons at Orleans: these were called *the great guilty*, and a high national court had been convened to try them. The movers of the assassinations in the capital, wishing to feast their eyes with the blood of these new victims, sent their agents to Orleans, there to roar out this cry of proscription, *Let the prisoners be carried to Paris*. It was in vain that the assembly, rousing themselves from their guilty lethargy, sent commissaries to appease the furious mob, and cause the laws to be respected; they

JOURNÉE," (this noble day.) It has been represented to the commune, that after you have taken justice upon these aristocratical rascals, you rob them. Leave, leave all the trinkets, money, and other effects, that may be found about them, towards the charges of the great act of justice that you exercise; care will be taken to pay you what was agreed upon. Be as noble, great, and generous as the profession you fill. Let every thing on this great day be worthy of the people whose sovereignty is entrusted to you,"

they were not attended to, and returned with the information that the prisoners, guarded by their assassins, were on their road to Paris. These commissaries, who paid more regard to their own safety, than to that of the unhappy prisoners, yielded to the vociferations of one furious man, who incessantly bawled out, that "*Paris only had a right to try the guilty wretches, and that they ought to be carried thither.*" There is no doubt but that a little energy, and the seizing of this demoniac, would have restored tranquillity, and returned every one to his duty. Unfortunately this was not the case; the cries of the seditious appeared to be authorised by the silence of the commissaries; and as in a great croud where there is only one talker, he is always supposed to be in the right, the cry of *away with them to Paris*, was repeated, and immediately every thing was prepared for that purpose.

To prevent if possible this fresh crime from being committed, the assembly ordered Roland to appoint other commissaries, and send them to meet the prisoners, with orders to prevent their being brought to Paris. At the same
time

time an armed force of about two thousand men was sent to protect the prisoners as far as Saumur, whither it had been resolved to conduct them. These measures, which appeared to be quite sufficient, and certainly were so, were rendered useless by the movers of the assassinations; not being able to influence the choice of the commissaries, these monsters succeeded in having the command of the armed force given to Fournier the West-Indian, and to Lajouski *, both of them great revolutionists.

The

* Fournier shamefully revenged himself on the nobles for an injustice he had suffered from one of that body before the revolution. He was a rich planter in Saint Domingo, and was suddenly ruined by his possessions being burnt. Suspecting an enemy he had to have been the cause of his ruin, he raised a great clamour, and prosecuted him in all the courts. Soured by misfortune, and not obtaining the justice he sued for, he accused the intendant of partiality, who made an improper use of his authority, and oppressed Fournier very unjustly, so much so, that he found himself obliged to come to France to seek for justice. He printed his case, laid siege to the public offices, and gained nothing. The revolution began, he embraced the idea of revenge, and has exercised it as much as he could. Arrested and condemned to transportation, it is not known what is become of him.

Lajouski, only known by his vices and crimes during the revolution, died in 1793. His co-villains buried him in the

The commissaries left Paris on the 5th of September, at ten o'clock in the evening, and arrived the next morning at five o'clock at Etampes, where the prisoners were expected that morning. The letter which they wrote to the minister will inform you of their proceedings.

“ The commissaries of the executive power to the minister of the interior.

Sir,

“ We arrived here yesterday morning at five o'clock, and were immediately informed that the prisoners would be here at Etampes that morning. We went directly to the mayor and to the *procureur syndic* of the district, to acquaint them with our mission, and jointly with them to find a proper place for our purpose ;

square du Carrousel, and erected a tomb for him, which stood a year. That place was chosen to acknowledge the services that he had rendered at the attack of the Tuileries.

On the death of Marat, (his master in fury) his inkstand, the pen with which he wrote his journals, and his bust, were placed in the tomb with him ; an open grating permitted them to public view, and to these the Sans-culottes paid homage.

after

after having fought every where and examined every place, we fixed upon a religious house, which has only been evacuated two days; we had but just left these gentlemen when we met the commander of the armed force, we immediately founded him, and we then declared to him the object of our mission; after much difficulty about conciliating matters, it was settled that during the remainder of that day means should be employed first to gain over the officers, and then the volunteers. We showed the officers our commission and the decree, upon which they remarked that the minds of the soldiers were too much inflamed already, and that a rigid conduct would cause them to revolt.

“ We gained over the officers, who then dispersed themselves amongst the soldiers, in order to conciliate their minds to our proposals.

“ The soldiers were assembled upon a square; our design was partly broken to them, but neither our powers nor the decree of the national assembly were read to them: they grew so very warm, that at one time we feared that they would have proceeded to excesses; all would set out for Paris, and many of them immedi-

ately, although they had lodgings provided for them; we desired the commander to dismiss them, and to adjourn till the next day morning before breakfast.

“ We were uneasy how the night would pass, both for the prisoners and ourselves.”

“ This morning at five o'clock the call was beaten, and the troops assembled in a church; the same disposition was prevalent that had appeared the evening before; we and the superior officers harangued them, but nothing we said had any weight with them, till it was proposed that they should conduct the prisoners to Versailles, the tumult then began to subside, the debates grew cooler, and at last after much opposition, upon condition that we should accompany them, and that justice should be done, it was agreed to; this is all that we have been able to obtain.

“ We send a courier to you, Sir, to give you the earliest intelligence, and to relieve you and the national assembly from anxiety.

“ If you have any dispositions to give relative to the troops, or to the management of the business, send them freely, we wait your orders,

“ You

“ You will see that the purpose of the decree of the national assembly is accomplished ; we should have had much greater satisfaction, if we could have prevailed on them to remain.

“ We forewarn you that any demand contrary to the measures agreed upon, will not be accepted.

“ When we are arrived at Versailles, and that the prisoners are placed in safety, means for taking further steps, or for conciliating matters, may be thought of ; although it was not in our power to obtain all we asked, we venture to say we have obtained a great deal, even more than we expected ; we are always ready to labour for the public cause, and upon every occasion to give you proofs of our readiness to devote ourselves to our country.

We are, &c.

(Signed) BARRY, BORILLON.

JOUBERT, MOULINS.

“ P. S. About two hundred men from the regiment of Berwick have followed the volunteers, that they may afterwards have it in their

power to fly to the frontiers.—There are fifty-three state prisoners.”

To this letter I will add some particulars that the commissaries acquainted me with.

Notwithstanding the assurances they gave to the prisoners that they would expose themselves to all danger in order to prevent their being conducted to Paris, these unhappy persons were far from being easy about their fate. In the evening they requested one of the commissaries, in whose favor they were prejudiced on account of his manner of speaking and behaving to them, to visit them.

The commissary, in order to prevent any improper conclusions being drawn from his visit, prevailed on the commander, Fournier, to accompany him. One of the prisoners, in the names of them all, addressed the commissary in these words: “Sir, as I have the honor to know you, I have answered to my companions in misfortune for the goodness of your heart, and your inclination to oblige them; they have desired me to request you to come hither, that you might render to us all a service.

vice. Uncertain what lot is preparing for us, every one has some message, or small article, to be transmitted to his family, and we depend upon you for the execution of these commissions." Immediately the prisoners came up to the commissary, some holding trinkets, such as watches and rings, and others money in their hands, and almost every one of them a letter. The commissary was moved even to tears, and far from foreseeing the dismal end that awaited the prisoners, thought it would give them hope if he refused to take the deposit they wished to entrust him with, he therefore said to them, "I am sent hither with my fellow commissaries to cause the law which forbids your being conducted to Paris, to be respected; depend on the endeavours of us all to see that it is complied with. We have already obtained the consent of the armed force that you shall go to Versailles. This determination ought to dissipate your fears. I desire you will not take amiss the refusal I have at this time made to execute your commissions."

While Fournier was busy in speaking to several of the prisoners, the commissary whispered

pered him who had been the spokesman, "I am suspected by the armed force, its commander watches all my motions; believe me it hurts me very much to refuse what you have desired, but I much fear that I should be rendering you a dangerous service by complying with it. Tell all these gentlemen that having obtained leave for you to remain here, we have dispatched a messenger to the minister, to desire him to select well-intentioned men from the sections in Paris, to form them into an armed force, and to send them hither to protect you in case of need."

The sections in Paris had certainly been assembled, but only to prevent the prisoners of Orleans from being murdered in case they came to Paris. No intention was entertained of sending the armed force that the commissaries desired to have. Besides which, here is the letter which the minister wrote to the commissaries on this subject.

"Paris, the 7th September, four o'clock
in the afternoon.

"Gentlemen,

"I this instant receive the letter that you did me the honour to write to me this morning

at

at eleven o'clock. The sections have been assembled on the subject of your mission, and I ought to acquaint you that their resolutions are conformable to justice and honour; that all the presidents have assured the commission of the national assembly, that all their care, all their solicitude shall be employed, to prevent the honour of the nation and of the city of Paris from being tarnished, by the violation of civil and human laws; they all desire, and I conjure you to employ all *your* care and solicitude, that the prisoners be conducted to Versailles, agreeably to what seems to be the design; that when arrived there, they be placed under a steady and secure guard, and assure them that every one here is perfectly disposed that their trials be immediately begun.

“ Acquaint me regularly with your progress, and let me know exactly the time that you shall leave the Orleans road, to take that for Versailles.

“ I shall apprise the administrative assembly of your coming thither, and desire them to prepare you lodging, and whatever else is necessary.

“ I had

“ I had but just written to M. Fournier, when I received your letter ; communicate to him what I write to you, and let him do the same to you by what I have written to him. Consult together for the best.

“ Justice and humanity is all that I have to recommend.

The minister of the Interior,
ROLLAND.”

To M. M. the commissaries of the executive power, now on the road from Paris to Orleans.

Fournier grew uneasy when he saw the commissary whispering the prisoner. At one o'clock in the morning, when every one was locked in sleep, accompanied by Lajoufki, he entered the room where the commissary and one of his colleagues slept ; he waked them, and shewing them a pistol, accused them of connivance with the prisoners ; said that he laughed at the powers they were invested with ; threatened to kill them if they thought proper to counteract his designs, and left the room venting oaths. I had forgotten to mention that this man had caused the patriotism of the commissaries on
their

their arrival at Etampes, to be suspected, because their heads were not muffled in red caps ; they were obliged to wear them during the remainder of the journey.

Before they set out for Arpajon, Fournier went alone into the prison, and proposed to the unfortunate beings, whose throats he was going to cut, to undertake himself the delivery of the fundry articles, which on the preceding evening the commissary had refused to do. Whether they feared to refuse him, or whether any other motive induced their acquiescence, they delivered up to this man their money and trinkets, which he kept, and their letters, which he burnt. Before he left them he told them, that as he was without money to pay their expences, he was obliged to deduct fifteen hundred livres from the sum they had entrusted him with. The prisoners dared not represent to him that as he had received fifteen thousand livres from the municipality of Orleans, for conducting them to Saumur, he could *not* be without money.

On the 8th of September, they arrived at Arpajon, the prisoners were received there with
the

the most dangerous prejudices against them; the executioners of the prisoners at Paris, who had arrived there before them, were the cause of it; however all was pretty quiet. The commissaries having testified their uneasiness to the commander Fournier, he assured them that he would answer for his troops.

Twice in a day the commissaries sent a messenger to the minister, giving him an account of what was passing. This is the second letter that they wrote to him from Arpajon.

“ Sir, at eleven o’clock this morning, we arrived at Arpajon with the armed force that accompanies the prisoners; every thing was very quiet all the way.

“ To-morrow morning at five o’clock, we leave this place; we shall take the following route:

“ From Arpajon to Lina, where we leave the road from Orleans to Paris; from Lina to Marcouffy, from thence to Orçay, where we shall halt an hour without unbridling our horses; from Orçay to Jouy, and from thence to Versailles, where we expect to arrive between twelve and one at noon.

“ The

“ The troops seem to be very well disposed. Mr. Fournier has assured us that he will be answerable for them ; they consist of about two thousand men, and he desires that on their arrival at Versailles, they may be placed in barracks.

“ It appears to us, sir, that all will go off well ; we however think that prudent measures should be taken, for we have been told that certain persons from Paris will be at Versailles, and if the troops which accompany the prisoners have their passions a little heated, it may produce excesses.

“ This is our present situation, it is for you to direct the steps we are to take ; we wait your orders. We are, &c. &c.

You will perceive that the commissaries took every precaution ; if after what they had written, Rolland had sent a sufficient and well intentioned force, there would have been no murder. He contented himself with acquainting the district of Versailles, that the prisoners were on their way to their town, without giving them the least intimation of the danger
they

they were in, or pointing out to them what measures ought to be taken. This information gave the administrators uneasiness, and they were in such haste to inform their colleagues of the district of Etampes with it, that for fear of losing time in calling a meeting in their assembly-hall, they actually wrote them a letter with a pencil, which I will show you for its singularity.

“ Versailles, 8th Sept. 1792.

“ Gentlemen !

“ We have received a letter from the minister of the interior, wherein he informs us that the prisoners from Orleans, and the volunteers who escort them, are to sleep to-morrow at Versailles. We have ordered the needful to be prepared for their reception. But as there is a report that the prisoners are to return back as far as Saumur, agreeably to the tenor of the decree, we desire that you, gentlemen, will inform us by the return of the messenger, if you have any certain knowledge about the march of these prisoners, that we may prepare the inhabitants of Versailles, who will otherwise
be

be surprised at the arrival of so large a body of men, without being apprized of it.

“ To the provisional administrative commissaries, in the directorial functions of the department of Seine and Oise.

GERMAIN, ARNEAU, RIOL, BOQUET.”

The next day, the 9th September, the fatal day to which may be justly applied, *excidat illa dies*, they left Arpajon to go to Versailles.

At that part of the road which serves as a bound to the department of the Seine and Oise, the administrators of the district, and the municipal officers of Versailles, received the commissaries and the prisoners. The mission of the commissaries was now at an end, as it was only instituted for the conducting of the prisoners into some place that was not within the department of Paris ; they nevertheless accompanied the constituted authorities to Versailles, where one of them was in the greatest danger. At the instant of the massacre, this commissary after having made many efforts to stop the furious mob in vain, wished to save at least one

of the victims ; he ascended into the first waggon, took his red cap from his head and put it upon that of the first prisoner he met with, who under cover of this shield, escaped unhurt. The assassins all at once surrounded the carriage, and one of them mistaking the commissary for one of their victims, prepared to cleave his head with his sabre, when fortunately one of the volunteers perceiving the mistake, warded off the blow with his arm, and at the same time called out, " Take care, it is one of our commissaries." This saved him, but in consequence either of the danger he had run, or the horror that this scene of carnage had inspired him with, from that time his faculties deserted him, and every day at three o'clock, which was the hour of carnage, an involuntary trembling seized him, and he died an idiot.

I will not say any thing to you about that scene of blood, as you have read the particulars of it ; I will only mention to you that which has not been printed, how it began. The waggons being arrived at a cross-road, called *les quatre bornes*, (the four bounds) they were ordered to stop, and also their escort, the
com-

commander of which, Fournier, had disappeared. About fifteen assassins came up to the first waggon in which was M. de Brissac ; after many words and insults, one of them hit this brave officer a blow with a stick, who rising up briskly, said, “ Wretch, do you know whom you strike ? ” This answer served as a signal for the carnage, for the murderers immediately stabbing him, said, “ Yes, we do know, and that is what such a villain of a royalist as you, deserves ? ” Thus perished the unfortunate Brissac, the first victim of the assassins.*

After

* I shall insert here, the decree of the national assembly, relative to the sending of the commissaries, and their nomination by the minister Rolland.

Law of the 5th September, 1792, in the fourth year of liberty.

The national assembly, after having heard read the verbal process of the administrative assembly of Orleans, decrees as follows :

Article 1st.

The provisional executive council shall give immediate orders, and take the necessary steps for the performance of the decree of the 2d of this month, relative to the prisoners detained at Orleans.

2d.

It may provisionally order them to be conducted to such a place without the department of Paris, as it shall judge most proper,

After this narrative, Lord B. asked the commissary whether he knew the number of victims that

proper, and it is to give orders that provision be made for their safety and their protection.

3d.

The provisional executive council shall immediately send commissaries to meet the armed force that conducts the prisoners, and cause to be read at the head of the battalion, the following instruction.

Citizens,

A decree of the national assembly has ordained that the persons accused of high treason, shall be removed to Saumur; you have been required in the name of the law to concur in the execution of this decree, and you have been unmindful of the empire of the law. You have resisted the representatives of the nation.

Citizens, to how ill a conduct have not perfidious suggestions induced you? He who resists the orders that the people give him by the organ of the constituted authorities, deceives himself, if he believe himself to be a patriot, he is only a rebel. Do you think if he escape the punishment he has brought upon himself, that he will escape public contempt? Do you think that the soldiers who fight for liberty, will allow him to mix with them?

This reflection alarms your courage; if it do, it will also bring you to repentance.—Obey immediately, and your country will forget your fault, and appoint you a place amongst its defenders.

In the name of the nation, the provisional executive council gives notice to, and orders all the administrative assemblies and tribunals, that these presents be inserted in their

that perished in Paris and at Versailles. He answered, " That the number of prisoners from
Orleans,

their registers, read, published, and pasted up in their departments, and in their respective jurisdictions, and executed as law. In witness whereof, we have signed these presents, and caused the seal of the state to be set hereunto. Done at Paris, the 5th day of the month of September, 1792, the fourth year of liberty.

Signed, CLAVIERE; countersigned, DANTON;
and sealed with the seal of the state.

Certified to agree with the original.

DANTON.

In the name of the nation.

By order of the provisional executive power.

By virtue of the decree of the national assembly of this day, which directs the executive power to send commissaries to meet the prisoners that were at Orleans, and are now bringing to Paris by an armed force, we have nominated and do nominate the gentlemen, Augustin Joubert, François Barri, Pierre Borillon, and Louis Gabriel Moulin, all of them municipal officers of the city of Paris, immediately to set out on the road to Orleans; and by the most conciliatory measures, to cause the law to be respected, to set forth the great importance of its not being violated; to dispose the armed force itself to conduct the prisoners to some place of safety on the road, the most convenient to receive them, and to have them there guarded by a steady and able guard, until other orders be issued by the national assembly, which will proceed immediately to their trials.

The

Orleans, was 53, of whom six escaped, thus 47 were massacred. In Paris, 244 were killed at the Carmelites; 180, at the abbey of Saint Germain; 78, at the cloister of the Bernardins; 45, at the hospital of the Salpêtrière; 85, at the conciergerie; 244, at the chatelet, and 164, at the hotel de la Force; in all 1052 murders committed in eight days, in the name of the people." "Curfed perfidy! Since the beginning of the revolution the people have constantly served for a cloak. To-day they are cited as enlightened judges, to-morrow as stupid beasts. For example, when the people have been guilty of a great offence, they are pitied, and it is attributed to their ignorance; and when laws are given to them, legislators are proud of their votes and approbation."

" As

The said commissaries have full power to act, to reason, and to enter into the views of the nation; to cause the laws to be respected, and to maintain peace and tranquillity.

Done at Paris, the 5th September, 1792, the fourth year of liberty, and the first of equality.

These presents shall serve as a passport for the said commissaries.

The minister of the interior,

ROLLAND.

“As there is nothing more to be seen here,” our conductor said, “let us move on.” A door that he opened to us, discovered a state bed; except some gold lace and fringe, which undoubtedly had been wilfully torn off, it was complete. After having looked round this room, richly decorated in the antique style, (for the hangings as well as the curtains were of a red stuff worked with gold) we were directing our steps to another door, when the Englishman stopped us to examine a portrait of Louis XVI. which was thrown into a corner behind an arm-chair. “I really had forgotten to shew you this curiosity,” said the commissary, “it has not its fellow; it is another of the ridiculous ideas of that Palloy, of whom I have spoken to you. He conceived the idea of taking this piece of marble, which served at the altar of the chapel in the bastille, to place the chalice and other articles of worship upon, and which was called the ‘consecrated stone,’ and engraving upon it the portrait of the king; look at these crosses which appear like defects in the engraving, they are the marks of consecration. Palloy thought he gave the king a superb treat

when he presented this portrait to him, at the bottom of which he caused the four following lines to be cut :*

“ This beauteous chef-d’œuvre of Palloy’s fine art,
To Louis of France, the restorer, we give,
And wish it to bear him these tidings of truth,
That our gratitude to him for ever shall live.”

Bedfort was just going to make some reflections on this portrait, when one of our conductor’s colleagues came running to him out of breath, and desired him to go down immediately.

Upon the assurance the commissary gave us, that there was no indiscretion in our accompanying him, we followed.

All the commissaries and two deputies were assembled ; one of them said—

“ You know that the minister Rolland came hither this morning at eight o’clock, with Heurtier, the inspector of buildings, and a person whom we have since been informed is a locksmith in Versailles, and that his name is Gamin. Not knowing what he could want to do

* This portrait is still in being ; it may be seen by the curious, who choose to address themselves to the printer of this work ; he can give them further information about it.

do with a broom and a roll of packthread that he asked for, and above all why they locked themselves in the king's bed-chamber, we watched their coming out ; at half past eleven, Gamin came in the minister's name, and asked for two napkins, one of us undertook to carry them to him, and saw him with great care, and joy painted in his countenance, fill them with a great many papers. In going out he said, ' These are papers that the king hid, I have found them, and am going to carry them to the convention.' He then went away, followed by the locksmith, carrying the two napkins. The centinel at the gate, having prevented his passing with these two bundles, he sent for one of us to identify him, and then continued his way.

“ You know that we were this evening to visit this hiding place, as we have done those which were in the queen's library, and in madame Elizabeth's apartment, where we did not find any thing. As the place where this is was sealed by us, Rolland could not enter it, without having pulled off our seals ; let us go up and examine what he has done ; we will then
draw

draw up a verbal process of the whole transaction, for it will certainly make a noise, and we may be involved in it."

"I will answer for it, that this will make a noise," said the deputy Goupilleau (de Montaigu) "What Rolland has done, is a violation of all law, and of all principle. In the first place he knows that there exists a commission from the convention, for the search and examination of all papers in this palace; he ought to have given them notice of what he was going to do, and have demanded their assistance. Who can say, that having gone to work by himself, he has not secreted or introduced some papers, to make the king appear guilty or innocent? And in the second place, he had no right to take off seals that were fixed by other persons; in this step alone he is criminal."

We all together went up stairs into the king's bed-chamber; at his bed-side was a door on which the commissaries had fixed their seals in soft wax, they were scrupulously examined; there was no other impression than that made by a thumb pressed hard upon the wax; by this
door

door you entered into a wainscoted passage of about six feet long by three feet broad, having no other light than what was introduced into it when the doors were open; facing the one that we opened was another, which led into the dauphin's room; it was in this small passage that the hiding place was concealed; to come at it, a pannel of the wood-work was raised, and there then appeared an iron door closely locked, of about one foot and a half square, and raised about four feet from the floor; this small door concealed a recess cut into the wall next the garden; he who made this hiding-place had not taken the least pains to give it any form whatever, it was merely a shapeless hole, without form or polish, of the depth of two feet, and of fifteen inches diameter at the entrance, decreasing inwardly; such was what has been called the iron closet.

I have since learned, that when Louis XVI. had resolved to go to Varennes, not knowing to whom to confide some papers that he would not take with him, he caused this closet to be contrived. He sent for Gamin the locksmith, and shut himself up with him and the page Durey,

to

to work at this closet, the latter in the night carried away the rubbish in a napkin, and threw it into the river, he told me he did this six times.

The time that this closet was constructed, contradicts what Gamin said to the national convention on the 8th of Floreal, in the year two, when besides the crime of betraying the secret that the king had confided to him, he had the villainy implicitly to accuse this monarch of having given him poison. The brazen-faced locksmith said, “ that on the 22d May, 1792, the day that he finished this closet, Louis XVI. brought him himself a large glass of wine, which he drank as he was very warm, and that it gave him a violent cholic; from the well-known character of the king, it is needless to endeavour to refute this audacious accusation. If he ever had the desire and resolution to commit such a crime, I ask it of every impartial person, would it have been on the obscure Gamin? Would it not have been more for his happiness, if for example, he had chosen his persecutor D’Orleans for his victim? Surely from the moment that Louis XVI. ceased

ceased to trouble himself about this ambitious man, he cannot be suspected of having attempted the life of any one. Justice must also be done to the public, who looked upon this locksmith as a vile calumniator, and who murmured when on the second of Prairial following the convention granted him a life annuity of twelve hundred livres. This villain, the only one of his kind in our revolution, died in a short time gnawed to death by remorse, though without having confessed his crime.

After the closet and the state of the seals had been examined in the most minute manner, the commissaries drew up the following verbal process.

“ On this 20th November, 1792, the first year of the French republic, at half past eleven o'clock in the morning, the members composing the committee of inspection and preservation of the moveables in the palace of the Tuileries, on an information given to them by C. Dangletterre, one of their keepers, that the minister of the interior just now came out of the king's bed-chamber, accompanied by two persons carrying two napkins filled with
papers,

papers, which he said he had found in a secret closet, contrived in a small passage which opens into the said chamber, went into the chamber, where being, they discovered that the seals in soft wax which had been set on the door of the small passage that communicates with the chamber of the son of Louis XVI. had been taken off, and replaced without any art, that there remained on them no impression of the seal of the committee, but that the wax had been simply fastened on by the thumb. That after the declaration that the citizen Rolland made to the citizen Dangletterre, this minister cannot be suspected of the alteration of the seals ; that such an abuse of authority would be a violation of all law, unpardonable in one of the chiefs of authority charged to cause them to be respected. They are nevertheless obliged to state what has occurred, that they may not be accused of negligence in the exercise of their functions, nor of connivance with the minister.

“ That having afterwards opened the door on which were their seals, they discovered things out of order ; in the wainscoting of the
small

small passage on the garden side, one of the pannels was found out of its groove, which could not have been done but by the hand of man ; on raising this pannel, they discovered a small iron door, which served to shut up a kind of closet cut in the wall, and in which they did not find any thing.

“ After having replaced every thing in the state they found it, they examined the seals fixed upon the door at the end of the small passage, and which opens into the room of the son of Louis XVI. which they found in perfect order.

“ Of all which, they have drawn up the present verbal process, for a copy thereof to be delivered to the commission of the national convention charged with the search of papers. Signed, &c. &c.”

The commissaries then left us, and our conductor said to us, “ Since we are in the king’s bed-chamber, examine it at your pleasure.”

“ Do you know,” said Lord Bedford, “ that this last trait of Rolland’s character, makes me look upon him as true despot ; the deed that he has just now committed, is a very extraordinary

dinary presumption in a republican government.” “ I imagine he has personal motives that urged him to it.” “ Do you suspect what they are ?” “ He is accused of having written a certain letter to the king, which might at present bring him into trouble ; since the 10th of August the pains that he has taken to find it, shews that he is uneasy about it. Don’t you remember the question he the other day put to Alexis, and his passion at the time ?” “ I really begin to catch your idea.” “ To convince you more strongly, only follow his steps since that time ; three times has he changed the place that he had fixed upon for a council-chamber, and I am persuaded that he never would have thought of this chamber, which is very inconvenient for such a meeting, if he had not been informed that it was next to the hiding place ; to which add that after the council has broken up, he has been constantly shut up here for several hours, and you then will have a tolerable proof that he visited the papers in the iron closet.” “ Has he found his letter ?” “ That I do not know, but I will bet you that before long, on some pretext or other, he

he will ask for a new room to hold the council in."

(The commissary was in the right, for the very next day he asked for the room, which he has not changed since, and we were informed that among the discovered papers, there was not one of his letters to the king, which confirmed us in the suspicion that he had purloined them.)

"All that you have just been telling me, carries with it such glaring conviction of the truth, that I have no longer any doubt about the intentions of your ministers; but it must be allowed that he gives proofs of a great character; nothing stops him in his career; he has the air of braving his enemies." "All that is very true; I will say more, he is a good administrator, and has an excellent judgment. It is a pity that presumption tarnishes these qualities; he believes himself to be superior in every thing and to every body." "He is, perhaps (excuse the expression) a second edition of our Lord North, who one day said. 'When you can find in the kingdom a man more able than myself to conduct the affairs of a great peo-

ple, I shall be ready to resign, but until you can find such a one, I will keep my place.” “There was no great share of modesty in that. Perhaps Rolland would say the same if he dared; according to our manners such language would be ridiculous, but in my opinion when a man is really capable, such a speech proceeds rather from nobleness of mind than from rodomontade. But I think we have talked sufficiently long about Rolland*, let us examine this chamber.”

The king's bed was placed in a recess, formed on one side by the small passage that I have mentioned, and on the other by a ward-robe.

I

* When the party of the mountain gained the ascendancy, Rolland left the ministry, and Paris, where his head was proscribed; he wandered about until the 22d Brumaire in the second year; having then learnt that his wife had suffered, he blew out his brains on the road from Paris to Rouen; madame Philippon, his wife, lost her life on the scaffold four days before; few women have shewn a greater character at so terrible a moment. Conducted to death along with La Marche, the director-general of the fabrication of the assignats, she seemed to forget her own situation, in order to inspire with courage this unfortunate man; arrived at the foot of the scaffold, she said to him, “Do you go first, for you will not have the courage to see me die.”

It had a canopy in the shape of a dome, with curtains of clouded Chinese silk; the mattresses were so strongly stuffed with wool, that they had no softness, which made us conclude that he liked to lie hard. Facing the bed was the chimney, and on one side of it a prayer desk, above which was a watch-case, with a glass before it. Three shirts which were left in the closet made us conclude, from the spots that were on them, that he had a natural infirmity to which corpulent men are frequently subject. At the foot of his bed, five feet from the ground, was a window of about two feet square, which looked into the dauphin's bed-chamber, exactly at his bed's head; this was at first a blind window, but he caused it to be opened, made the bolt that you see, and put it on himself; if you examine it you will find it very coarse work, it is nevertheless one of his master-pieces. To this window, the commissary told us, the affectionate father always ran upon hearing the faintest sigh from his son. No luxuries, no conveniences marked this chamber, such as it was, our citizen fops would not have deigned to have made use of it.

In examining the inside of the prayer desk, we found a letter with a cover on it, superscribed "A copy of the king's will." Notwithstanding the paquet had been opened, the seal remained whole, it was of black wax, with the arms of France upon it. Upon seeing this the Englishman shewed an impatient curiosity, which made us smile, the commissary said to him, "You think it is the will of Louis XVI." "I certainly do, the superscription is his writing." "So is also what is inclosed in it, and yet it is only a copy he wrote of a will that his predecessor made in 1766. I do not know that it is known to exist, however you may have the reading of it."

"IN the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

"What follows is my last will and testament.

"I deliver up my soul to God my creator, and I conjure him to have pity on a great sinner, wholly submitted to his holy will, and to the determinations of his catholic, apostolic, and Roman church. I beseech the holy virgin, all the saints, and particularly St. Louis, my forefather and my patron, to intercede for me
with

with Jesus Christ, my divine saviour and redeemer, that I may obtain pardon of my sins, having frequently offended and ill served him. I ask pardon of all those whom I have offended or scandalised, and desire them to forgive me, and to pray to God for my soul. I pray the Almighty with my whole heart, to enlighten that one of my grandsons, who shall succeed me in the government of the kingdom, which the Divine Providence has entrusted me with, (since it has pleased him to call to himself, my dear and only son, whom I did not expect to survive) that he may govern it better than I have done. If I have committed any faults, they did not proceed from want of will, but from want of talents, and because I was not seconded as I wished, above all, in matters concerning religion. I forbid all grand ceremonies at my funeral; I direct that my body shall be carried to St. Denis with as little pomp as may be; I direct that my heart shall be carried to the place where is deposited that of my lord the late king, my great-grandfather. I direct that my bowels shall be carried to Notre Dame at Paris, and be placed behind those of Louis XIV. I

direct that a solemn service shall be founded on the day of my death, and also an unaccompanied mass every day for the repose of my soul; and one likewise in the parish where I shall die, and one at Versailles, if I do not die there. I give to my grand-son, the dauphin, who shall succeed me, every thing that shall be found belonging to me in all my houses, and I direct that all the keys shall be delivered to him, or to the regent or regentess, if he have the misfortune to be a minor; and I desire that he will divide my jewels with my children and grand-children of both sexes that shall be in France, according to their wishes. I will that my daughters have each a pension of two hundred thousand livres, their house-rent and table paid for, and that the one that may survive the others, enjoy a pension of three hundred thousand livres. I also charge my successor to recompense well those of my particular domestics, that he does not retain in their employments. Done at Versailles, the sixth day of January, the year of grace one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six.

LOUIS.

“ O God

“ O God, who knowest every thing, again forgive all the faults that I have done, and all the sins that I have committed ; thou art merciful and full of goodness, I wait thy judgment trembling with fear and hope ; have pity on my people and all my kingdom, and do not permit that it ever fall into error, as our neighbouring states have done, who in former times were catholics, apostolics, and Romans, and perhaps more so than we.

“ LOUIS.”

“ Copied from the original, and attested by me as true.

“ LOUIS AUGUSTE.”

There is nothing curious in this will besides its date ; made fourteen days after the death of the dauphin ; it proves that at that moment Louis XV. made reflections on himself, that he had fears and remorse, the natural fruits of trouble and of grief. But he soon shook off these thoughts, and madame Dubarry, who was presented to him some time after the loss of his son, wholly dissipated these melancholy reflections.

There being nothing more to be seen in this chamber, our commissary conducted us into that of the dauphin; this room like that of his father, had only one window, and it also looked into the garden; the child's bed was only separated from the king's bed by a wall, and the small window that I have mentioned was just above his pillow. The bed for his governess was next to his, they were both of green damask, and the only difference between them, consisted in a gold fringe that ornamented the dauphin's curtains. In one of the drawers of the dressing-table, were several shells ranged in great order, which probably served for the child's amusement, none of them appeared to us to be rare or valuable, except a large and fine pearl fixed to its shell; along with the shells was a shaving basin of a white china, which from its size could be of no use, but as a plaything.

In a porte feuille of embroidered silk was a single paper; on opening it, we found it to be a letter, which the commissary told us was the sole and only one written by the dauphin in

1791 ; he was then six years old. I copied it from the same motives that caused me to read it, interest and curiosity. Under any other circumstances it would have been of no value, but to the tenderness of a father ; but owing to the unhappy situation in which this interesting child and his parents were involved, it becomes dear to every feeling soul ; I give you a most minute copy of the original written in letters of half an inch long, each line filling the breadth of great letter paper, the first page contains only these words.

“ MY DEAR PAPA

“ I AM VERY GLAD TO BE

“ ABLE TO WRITE TO YOU,

“ TO WISH YOU A HAPPY NEW YEAR

“ AND TO TELL YOU THAT

“ I LOVE YOU WITH ALL

“ MY HEART.”

“ I am sorry,” said Lord Bedford, “ that this letter does not carry any mark of authenticity with it.”

“ To give it such, the testimony of the governess of the children of France, and that of the dauphin’s tutor may be taken.”

On

On opening of other drawers we found the child's wardrobe ; amongst other dresses (one of which was an uniform of the national guards, and which policy no doubt occasioned to have been made), a red woollen cap presented itself, and surprised Lord Bedford so much, that he rather angrily called out, " What did the king allow his son to be muffled up in the livery of anarchy !" " You certainly cannot think so ; this cap was given to the dauphin as a play-thing to disguise him in play as a Savoyard ; that was all its use." " Well and good, I could not have excused it had it been made use of as a '*paratonnerre*'* ; it was more than enough that the king allowed him to defile his head with it on the 20th June ; if I had been in his place, I should have rejected it with contempt." " Do you recollect what he said ?" " That it was to prevent the furious committing a greater crime." " It cannot be denied that your national assembly behaved ill on that day ?" " The following is a description of it, that

* Paratonnerre, literally a warder off of thunder, as an umbrella is of rain ; but is here meant as a protection against the violence of the mob on the 20th June 1792. *Translator.*

that a person belonging to the court drew up, and is among the accounts of the events of that day. “ The constitutional party, to prevent the scum of the faubourgs being received, demanded that the sitting should be broken up; the jacobins objected to it, they wished to enjoy their success, and receive the homage of their soldiers; the feuillans debated; at last the jacobins triumphed, whilst the fans-culottes filed off, the constitutionals of the assembly trembled, and the most cowardly of them applauded.” Add to this faithful narrative, that the wisest of the deputies left their seats and went out of the hall, that they might not witness this ridiculous procession.

When we left the Dauphin’s chamber, we went into that of his sister, it was larger than his, and in greater order and neatness; on one side lay, upon a broken piano-forte, some sheets of the first principles of vocal and instrumental music, and a little further, upon a table nearly covered with pencils and papers, was a large port-folio filled with prints and drawings; we opened this port-folio and found in it several drawings made by the young *madame*, at the
bottom

bottom of every one of them she had written these words : *Marie-Therese-Charlotte de France fecit*, the date of the year and month followed them, which made it easy for us to judge of the progress she had made ; a woman's head and a foot, tolerably drawn and shaded, dated July, 1788, informed us that she had handled a pencil before she was ten years old ; drawings in the following year proved to us, from the manner in which they were finished, that she worked with taste. Since the month of March, 1790, she had drawn landscapes with figures ; the last of her drawings was finished the 1st of May, 1792 ; it represents the view of an aqueduct on the road from Naples to Salerno." " This piece shows talents," said the Englishman, " it is done with much taste." " Besides her having a drawing-master, her aunt gave her lessons, and spurred her emulation by example." " What ! was Madame Elizabeth fond of this art ?" " She was more than fond of it, she exercised it ; and when we visit her apartment, I will show you some of her paintings, that most of our artists in this line, would be proud of having executed."

" What

“ What do those sheets of paper contain ?”
“ An extract of the history of France, copied by Madame.” “ The useful was then mixed with the agreeable in her education ?” “ Certainly ; the king took the charge of her instruction, and made her write out what you see, which she studied and then gave him an account of.” “ The writing of this young person is very fine.” “ Have you seen the queen’s ?” “ Yes.” “ Examine this carefully, and you will find a great resemblance, but this is the superior.” “ It is very true.” “ Let us now walk through the upper apartments of this part of the house, which were occupied by different persons belonging to the royal family.”

Arrived on the second story, we scrupulously examined the chambers in a long dark gallery ; they remained in the same disorder that they were left in, on the evening of the tenth of August. In that of Lemonnier, the king’s first physician, four coats and as many hair-dressers hats, convinced us that their owners had changed their wardrobe with Esculapius. “ The hair-dressers are certainly a particular set of people, they are to be seen every where ; there is not a
merry-

merry-making, nor a commotion, no nor even a trifling row, but what they add to the number ; they are the most curious breed that is known.”

“ That is merely an idea, and you will drop it when you reflect that the hair-dressers, known every where by their powdered coats, are, in the way of their business, obliged to go into every corner of Paris. You will not pass through any one street, without meeting with two or three. It is therefore not surprising to find one or more of them increasing the smallest group ; the desire of always having something new to amuse their customers with, is in them an additional spur to that curiosity which is so natural to man.” “ You may be in the right, their cloaths and their great number cause them to be remarked. In the other apartments, there doubtless were similar thefts of wardrobes, to that we have seen here.” “ Very few, in the whole they amounted to seven hair-dresser’s suits, and the rags of three women.”

Le Monnier’s apartment was stripped so much that Bedford expressed surprise at it. Our conductor observed, that it had only served him as a kind of lounging room, for that he did not
reside

reside in the palace, and that what belonged to him had been delivered to him a few days since. Among his papers were found some bills of a printer, which proved that he had been employed to pay for the pamphlets that the court had printed. If these papers had fallen into certain hands, he would have been a lost man; to make him comfortable, they were burnt in his presence.*

In

* The man who saved the French comedians and many other persons, by concealing from the bloody minded men in the committee of general safety, the papers that might have cost them their lives, has with great justice been highly extolled in all the journals. I know a man who is living unknown, and is in circumstances far from affluent, who has rendered the same service to a great number of persons that he does not know, and that do not know him. Charged with examining the papers found in several houses and apartments in Paris, in order to take an inventory of them, and then deposit them with this same committee; he carefully concealed those which would have exposed several persons belonging to the court, remaining in Paris. When he saw that a crime was affixed to the affection that several private persons, among others many of the grenadiers of the national Parisian guard, showed to the king after the day of the 20th June, 1792, he threw into the fire all the letters and petitions that would have caused these men to perish.

What gave him very great concern, was the ungrateful treatment he met with from a female belonging to the court;

I will

In another apartment which had been occupied by a female, whose name has escaped me, the floor was strewn with papers, which we picked up and examined; it was a correspondence of eighteen months past, between several priests. We remarked in them, that from the moment that the civic oath of the clergy had been brought forward; there had been established at Paris, a kind of episcopal
body

I will not mention her name, because I have promised it to her unknown benefactor. This person, who was in very great danger from a number of letters, from which, according to the system of the times, she would have been declared guilty, sent him an offer of a sum of money if he would deliver them to her. He answered, "Do not speak to me any more about a bribe, I excuse the proposal on account of the uneasiness of but assure the person who sent you, that she may make herself very easy, for that no one shall see the correspondence." During the show of justice that followed the death of Robespierre, this woman reclaimed her papers, accusing my friend with not having restored them to her. He was sent for; for his answer he produced some of the papers which he had preserved, and asked, "What would have been the owner's fate, if he had delivered them at the time to the committee?" The deputy who protected this person, blamed her exceedingly, and in order to punish her for her ingratitude, by giving her further uneasiness, he waited a month before he had the papers restored to her.

body from amongst the ecclesiastics, who from that time denominated themselves *orthodox*, to distinguish them from those who took the oath. At the head of this body was the abbé Gallois, who was almoner to the chapel at the palace of Versailles. The aim of this body was to prevent the curates, vicars, and other priests in duty, from taking the oath; to direct in their restrictions, those who for particular reasons were obliged to take the oath; and to collect relief for those who wanted assistance in consequence of their refusal to take the oath.

The influence of this body was not only felt in the capital, but extended itself all over France. Lest the secrets of their letters should be violated, by sending them by the post, messenger-priests had been established, who at the same time served as apostles against the schism. To elude suspicion, these missionaries, on their journeys, laid aside all outward signs that distinguish the clergy from the laity.

If women *rarely* meddle in the affairs of government, it is not so in religious affairs; the least change in the ceremonies of the church, serves as food to their zeal; the priests know

this and profit by it. The oath for the clergy alarmed this devout sex ; their confessors whispered to them that religion was destroyed, and that those who went to mass where a priest officiated that had taken the oath, were damned. These cried aloud, that according to Saint Cyprian, they were apostates.*

The most distinguished women who sided with the orthodox priests, were Madame Elizabeth, the king's sister, and his two aunts. It has

* The history of the schism that the civic oath of the clergy introduced into France, is a subject that deserves to be treated upon. History claims this scene, in order to place it in the annals of the revolution ; those who enter into the particular facts, will see how fanaticism, which is to religion, what anarchy is to government, has profited by the oath for the priests, to commit the most atrocious crimes. It will also be seen that in the dissensions which took place between the two parties of ecclesiastics, that each of them has supported itself upon the authority of the holy fathers, which proves that in matters of religion, as well as in matters of legislation, all commentators, in attempting to explain the sense of the text, have only forged arms to destroy it with. But what will appear most astonishing is, that the priests who refused the oath, were, by their discussions, the principal movers of the schism. They had all forgotten what Denis of Alexandria, said to the anti-pope Novitien. *Satius fuerat quid vis pati, ne ecclesia dei discenderetur.* Apud Euseb. hist. eccl. Lib. 6. cap. 45.

has been said in the first volume of this work, that the spirit of religion moved the two latter to abandon their family and their country. Madame Elizabeth did much better, she knew how to ally the principles of religion with the ties of blood. Europe admires her fraternal love, and history reserves a page to commemorate her praise. These three princesses joined the unworn priests. They collected alms for them, which they increased by their own gifts, in order to distribute them to such ecclesiastics, as were reduced to necessity by the loss of their places. Madame Elizabeth was treasurer; to her application was made in order to obtain a share of this terrestrial manna, not less valuable than that which formerly fed the Israelites in the desert; but she seldom granted any without the consent of the abbé Gallois; by his letters to his intimate friends, it is seen that he abused his trust, and that he caused the gifts to be applied to a quite different use than that of relieving his poor brethren.

This is the amount of what the reading of this correspondence furnished us with; I will however, give you two anecdotes I took from

thence, as they each appeared to me to be curious of their kind.

The abbé Gallois having reproached M....., curate of Orouen-le-Voulgy, with having taken the oath, he answered him on the 30th January, 1791, that he had put restrictions to it, and adds, “ I have fully explained to *ma bonne amie*, all the reasons that determined me to take the oath. By having taken it, I shall be able to face every thing, and to be useful to my *bonne amie*; my neighbour may perhaps make me blush, from the motives that induced me to take the oath, but he has a good house over his head, whereas I have not even a hut.”

The second anecdote appears to be an information laid to accuse the unworn priests, and those that hold the same opinion that they do. I took it from a letter addressed to the said abbé Gallois, dated 20th May, 1792, but not signed. “ The sisters of the charity and of the chamber,* lead shocking lives; a sister of the chamber was brought to bed a few days ago;

* *Les sœurs de la charité et de la chambre*, religious societies founded for charitable purposes. *Translator.*

ago ; the superior is with child. Refractory priests are with them all the day, and even during the night. These sisters have not performed their Easter devotions, nor would they receive ashes from the hands of sworn priests."

These anecdotes only tend to prove that there are abuses and vices in every class, and that if every one's conduct were scrutinized, few consciences would be found to be pure. This is a truth which appeared in all its force during our revolution. More than once, two friends with honest worthy reputations, have become enemies from their different opinions, and have reproached each other publicly, with faults and vices of which they were never suspected. The same is the case in the anecdotes I have mentioned ; before the revolution, the curate of Orouen probably had the character of a worthy pastor, whereas he was a man only guided by interest and debauchery. In the like manner, without doubt, the sisters of the chamber before that time, by outside piety, covered the licentiousness that they since have appeared not to hide. How few men are there that gain by being thoroughly known, or pried into ?

In leaving this room, we met a man named Bouchard, who had belonged to madame D'Of-fun, and who had just fetched away his effects ; he appeared to us very morose and dissatisfied ; our commissary asked him if he had found every thing that belonged to him. " Not quite," he answered, " but it is not the loss that displeased me, but the impudence of the lad that delivered them to me." " Has he behaved ill to you ?" " On the contrary, he has overwhelmed me with his politeness." " I do not understand you." " I will explain myself ; he has on at this moment a pair of leather breeches, and a hat, that I know are mine ; I spoke to him about them, and he told me with great assurance that I was certainly mistaken, for that he had lately bought them ; this answer staggered me, nevertheless, after having carefully examined them, I am certain they are mine." " Come with me to the committee, and make this declaration." " By no means, I have no proofs, and I shall end again by being in the wrong." " In that case I will take it upon myself. I am no longer surprised at the eagerness with which this man runs into all the apartments

ments to fetch what is wanted ; he was sent to us, and recommended by the minister of the interior, as a very honest man. I will immediately prevent his going into any apartment, and on the least fault that he shall commit, if my brethren refuse to do it, I myself will cause him to be sent off immediately.”

In madame de B’s lodging-room, we found several letters written by refugees, who described in them their situation, their sentiments, and their fears. In one of them, written 22d April, 1792, by M. D’Ahemar, he says, “ Our war equipments are ready, we hope, to enter France at the end of July, or to be killed in the attempt, but I promise you we will sell our lives dearly. We cannot do any thing before July, without France begins, and that is what we wish for. The deaths of the emperor and that of the king of Sweden, make no alteration. The king of Sweden in his last moments, made his son and his brother, since named regent, promise that they would not abandon us : they promised upon their word of honour.”

In another letter, written from Spa the 22d July, is mentioned ; “ It is said that in three days the frontiers will be furnished with a great number of troops, that the campaign will begin in a fortnight, and be vigorously carried on. I would willingly give a good deal to be one year older. If you are at the hermitage the 1st of October, I will pay you a visit there. I am very sorry to see that several gentlemen who are quartered about Spa, are ruining themselves with gaming ?”

“ How very much,” said Lord Bedford, after having read the letters, “ did the expatriated Frenchmen deceive themselves ; they imagined that the neighbouring powers would immediately attack France to re-establish the king ; whereas they all waited for his challenge. They all imagined that as soon as enemies arrived on the frontiers, the greatest part of the inhabitants would join them ; on the contrary the French ran from all quarters to attack them. Instead of making themselves masters of two pitiful fortified places, that the enemies had possession of for a moment, in the name of Louis

XVI. they were taken in the names of the king of Prussia and of the emperor. In short, instead of giving to the army of Condé the post of honour that it was entitled to in a battle, it was sent into the rear, and left inactive, as if it were not to be trusted. I own I was much surprised at it, and from this moment I see that the emigrants and Louis XVI. will be of little consequence during the war. On the other hand I also foresee, that the coalition between the emperor and the king of Prussia, cannot last; the latter will never allow the emperor to regain Alsace and Lorraine, which he strongly covets.”

We also found amongst those papers, that from the moment the civic oath divided the ecclesiastics, the sworn priests composed prayers for the occasion; as I will not bring forward any fact without a proof to support it, I will, to satisfy curiosity, subjoin one of these manuscript prayers.

“ Holy spirit, God of light, source of grace, author of every perfect gift, who hold in your hands the hearts of kings, give to our august monarch a heart, like unto the heart of God.

Spirit

Spirit of strength, direct the actions of the king according to the purity of his intentions, that the church, the master-piece of your mercy, may be protected and preserved by him; sanctifying spirit, strongly impress these truths upon the soul of the king, that in France, faith is older than the crown, and that his throne will never be shaken so long as it has religion for its support: holy spirit, God of virtues, shed your gifts upon our good king; we implore you for the grandson of St. Louis; deign to enlighten and to guide him; his enemies are your enemies: Spirit, the comforter, restore joy to our hearts, wounded by bitterness; courage to our souls, worn down by sorrow. You have made known to us that in Sodom ten just men would have appeased the wrath of heaven: O my God! cast your eyes upon those venerable bishops, the priests of the church of France, their firmness, their zeal, their virtues will soften your heart; cast your eyes upon the virgins, victims of penitence, who raise their pure hands towards you, and who solicit the pardon of a criminal people; and lastly upon the many just men that are supported by faith, animated by
hope,

hope, and inflamed by charity. Great God, this fight is worthy of your attention, and in favor to the just, shew mercy to the guilty, and all together we will bless your holy name, now and for ever. Amen."

This prayer, which at first sight appears a very indifferent one, is nevertheless one of the arms with which they succeeded in fixing the irresolution of the king, and I am convinced that these pious emanations, did more towards determining his refusal to sanction the religious laws, than all the political observations of his ministers." "It is true that he consulted his council very little in matters of religion; he addressed himself to casuists and to his confessor for advice." "Was not the abbé Poupard, the curate of St. Eustace, his confessor?" "Yes." "But he took the oath." "For which reason he left him, to take the abbé L'Enfant who refused it, and who was one of the victims of the 2d of September."

Some other letters offered to us proofs that the greatest exactness was used to obtain the knowledge of the spirit that animated Paris. One of them mentioned that eight days before

fore the 10th of August, the heads were very cool in the Fauxbourg Saint-Antoine, but that it was feared the assembly would convulse them. Another written to M. Caylus, gave account that the majority of the female dancers at the opera were aristocrats, but that democracy triumphed among the female singers. This observation made us laugh in pity. To what will not curiosity descend? Or, into what will not curiosity insinuate itself?

“Love takes every advantage,” said the commissary, “nothing frightens it; look at this letter written to a lady belonging to the queen,” “I have the honour to inform you, that your woman for this week past has introduced her lover, a grenadier of the Parisian guard, every evening into the palace, under pretext of by this means augmenting the number of those who have devoted themselves to the defence of the king, &c.” “There’s a Frenchman for you in love,” said the Englishman, “he exposes himself to every hazard, and reckons his life as nothing, when triumphing over his mistress is at stake; it is a pity that his flame is extinguished as fast as it is lighted; it is not
in

in your nation that Celadons and Philemons are to be found."

On entering B——'s room, the Englishman expressed his astonishment at the disorder that reigned in this apartment, exactly under the roof. "In all the apartments that we have been into," said Lord B. "we have seen only a part of the furniture broken, how then happens it that there is not one thing whole here?" "I mentioned my surprise at it, as you have done; but on reflection I found that every apartment occupied by any favourite servant of the queen, was more damaged than the rest. Those of mesdames Lamballe, Tourzelle, and many others, brought on this reflection. You certainly have remarked that the queen's apartments were worse treated than those of the king." "What place did he hold who occupied this apartment?" "He was a yeoman of her wardrobe, and was the keeper of it at Trianon." "It appears as if he did not content himself with the inferior parts of it, for the furniture of this room is superb." "He is a cunning fellow." "Yet you say that the queen was attached to him." "No, not to him, but to
his

his wife, who is very pretty and very amiable, and yet B. did not behave very well to her."

"How so?" "He pretended that she was not faithful to him; in order to procure the proofs, he wanted to sue for a divorce, he applied to her confessor to furnish him with them, who as an honest man, was very angry at this indecent demand, notwithstanding which the suit for separation began: the wife retired to a convent in expectation, and perhaps wishing for the moment that should disengage her from a jealous husband. The queen interfered, and threatened the husband that he should lose her favour if he did not take his wife back again."

"And without doubt the husband, more interested than nice, complied." "You are in the right." "After such an event, I suppose they cannot agree very well together." "It is said that they do not; moreover the husband does wrong to reproach his wife, as he lives with another woman himself. Since the 10th of August, the husband and wife have not lived together, and I believe that they are now both suing for a divorce. They came hither separately to claim what belonged to each of them;

what

what I did not like in the husband was, that he did all in his power to have his wife's letters delivered to him; they were very properly refused him, which displeased him very much. There certainly never was a more ill assorted union; the husband is little, ugly, old, and of a disagreeable temper. The wife is tall, pretty, young, and very amiable; if you desire to know her, I will this evening conduct you to a private theatre, where you will see her perform comedy with some of our grave deputies, who are fond of this amusement; I suspect that one of them pays very great attention to her, and I even think I perceive that it does not displease her." "I accept your proposal with much pleasure."

In leaving this apartment, the commissary said to us, "There is nothing more to be seen in this part of the palace; to-morrow we will visit the pavillion of Flora, one morning will be sufficient for that purpose, and then you will have seen every thing." "That being the case," said Lord B, "I will go and prepare for my departure the day after to-morrow; there is now nothing that can detain me in
France,

France, on the contrary, every thing bids me leave it; do not look upon what I say as a bad compliment, it proceeds from circumstances."

"We are persuaded of it, and if we were strangers as you are, we should be in as great haste to leave this country, which is become the prey of a handful of ambitious intriguers. Adieu till our next meeting, or rather till to-morrow."

ELEVENTH DAY.

LAST VISIT

TO THE CASTLE.

CHAP. XIV.

Visit to the Pavillion of Flora.—Apartment of Madame de Lamballe.—Death of that Princess.—A short View of the Character of Orleans, both before and after the Revolution.—Visit to the Apartment of Madame Elizabeth,—Discovery of a Mechanical Confessional in her Bedchamber.—Singular Cushion which she used.—Prayers written and composed by this Princess—Her Library—her valuable Case of Mathematical Instruments—Her Talent for Painting.—Description of her last Picture.—Account and value of the Riches found in the Palace of the Tuileries after the 10th of August.—Anecdotes of the Physician Guillotin; and of the Sentence of Louis XVI.—Departure of Lord Bedford.

“THIS is the apartment of the first victim of the royal family, whom the people sacrificed with unheard of cruelty,” said the commissary to us, as he threw open a door on the ground floor of the pavillion of Flora. “You mean the

unfortunate princess de Lamballe?" "Yes I do." "I have often reflected what could be the motive that induced the barbarians to commit that crime. It is impossible that this princess could have been marked out by the revolutionists, either on account of any opposition she would have it in her power to offer to the new order of things, or on account of any intrigues she could put in motion during the revolution; so inactive was she, that it was scarcely known she existed. With the exception of a few scandalous newspaper editors, who for four years past had made a practice of spitting out their venom upon spotless characters, not a single taunt was ever levelled at the reputation of madame de Lamballe." "How then did it happen that all in a moment she became the object of the fury of the assassins?" "It is not an easy matter to reply to your question; whether the murderers, upon hearing that the unhappy princess was in their power, merely chose to enrich their horrible sacrifice with the blood of one of the royal family; or whether, as it was said, the dreadful assassination was committed by the secret orders of the duke of Orleans,

Orleans, it is very difficult to decide.” “ But I have been told that attempts were made to save her, that a robust man had gained the outer door with her in his arms, when a furious young fellow struck her a blow on the head with his sabre.” “ So it was indeed, but let us talk no more of this foul-harrowing scene.” “ I will comply with your request, upon condition that you will tell me your opinion of Orleans, whom they now so foolishly call *Egalité*.” “ You know as much as I do of that cowardly, ambitious man.” “ I only know what the papers have said of him, and that is but very incorrect information in general.” “ I will tell you what I know of him.”

“ There exists in every family an indelible sentiment of hatred, or love; of ambition, or apathy; of ignorance, or talent; which either shows itself feebly, or grows into excessive strength, according to the character, the education, or the situation of the individuals which compose it, and which is called a family spirit. Sometimes it lies dormant for a generation, and then breaks out with renewed fire in the succeeding one. That which has incessantly ani-

mated the house of Orleans, since the murder of one of its principals, by *Jean sans Peur*, is a jealous ambition against the reigning family. I shall not attempt to trace to you, what you, I dare say, are better acquainted with than I am myself, the history of all the dukes of that name. You must know that every one of them has either more or less openly struggled against our kings, and you must also know that keen sense and knowledge are inherent in the family of Orleans. He, of whom we are speaking, is eminently possessed of both. No one who has spoken of him, knew better how to estimate him, than did Louis XV. at least the following anecdote seems to say so ; at the time that Orleans, under pretence of a fondness for England, wanted to go to London to concert there a plan for the fall of the house of Bourbon, he was only duke of Chartres. When every thing was prepared for his departure, the king commanded him not to set out. Some time after he made another attempt to begin his voyage ; again he was ordered to remain in France ; in short, what you will scarcely believe, and what is still very true, his cloaths were

were packed and unpacked again seven different times. A courtier who was surprised at Louis XV's obstinacy relative to the duke's intended voyage, took the liberty of asking him his reason for it. The answer he received was this : *' It is my duty to prevent the duke of Chartres going to England ; he has already sufficient acquaintance amongst my enemies for me not to prevent his making more.'* " Oh," replied the courtier, " he thinks only of the amusement he is to derive from the voyage." " *Very likely,*" rejoined the king, " *but it is also very likely that his amusement may be made the cloak of his plans.*" This happened at the time of the triumph of the chancellor Meaupou ; and you must remember that the father of the present duke of Orleans, was so strongly attached to the exiled parliament, that he retired to his estates in order not to be a witness of the chancellor's triumph."

" Naturally inclined to three vices, wine, women, and avarice, Orleans gave himself up to the two first whilst he was only duke of Chartres, and at the death of his father, he

gratified the last, by causing to be built the Palais-Royal ; from which moment the public entertained for him the most thorough contempt. The American war appeared to withdraw him from his debaucheries ; but at the battle of Oueffant, instead of gathering laurels, he procured only epigrams and fatirical songs to be written upon him. But he appeared to console himself by plunging again into his vicious habits. It is, however, from that moment that must be dated the implacable hatred he bore to the queen. To tell you the real motive from whence it sprung, I am not able ; those who pretend to have a knowledge of the secret, say that it was occasioned by his love for her meeting with disdain *. Whether from
this

* As there cannot be an effect without a cause, historians who have mentioned the hatred which subsisted between the queen and Orleans, not being able to discover the true motive, have attributed it to rejected love. What makes it a very great doubt whether this really was the origin of their animosity, is, that no author can adduce any proofs of it, and that they all differ in their accounts. Some say that Orleans, captivated with the charms of the queen, ventured to disclose to her his passion, which she rejected with disdain, threatening to inform the king of it, if he ever opened his
lips

this cause, or any other, it is certain that from that moment they both took advantage of the most trifling circumstances which they could lay hold upon to torment and mortify each other. The queen had not much difficulty in setting forth the duke of Orleans as the most debauched of men, and most despicable of princes. She alienated from him the feelings of the king, who looked upon him only with coldness and disdain when he came to court; and as nothing has such an effect upon the features or courtiers as a prince looking grave upon them, so every time he appeared at Versailles, his countenance underwent an entire change, and embarrassment sat on his face; indeed he came there very seldom.

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lips upon it to her again: others assert that Maria Antoinette very plainly betrayed that she was not indifferent to the duke, and that when it was remarked to him, he replied, ‘any man but myself might indeed be proud of pleasing the queen; but our interests clash too much for love ever to be able to unite them.’ These are the two stories upon which has been founded the origin of that animosity, which was the ruin of these two great personages.

On the other hand the duke of Orleans took advantage of the levity of the queen, and her love of dissipation, to put a scandalous construction upon all her actions. It was by his order that hired libellers filled venomous pamphlets, and enigmatical songs, with accounts of the debaucheries, to which they said this princess gave herself up every night at Trianon, and in the park at Versailles. This war of scandal taught the public to see in the first prince of the blood only a vile and licentious fellow, and in the queen, a woman devoted to illicit pleasures; so much, that before the revolution, the names of the queen and the prince were paid no respect to by the people. The debaucheries of the one were a model of conduct to the young libertines; and the levity of the other was imitated by what were called the lovely women of the capital.

The hatred which Orleans bore to the queen, awakened in him that ambition which he inherited from his family; for whilst prying into her private conduct, in order to discover her failings, and blab them to the world, he discovered a certain political project, which gave him
him

him the idea of forming a plan of an entirely different nature. Hitherto he had troubled himself very little about the situation of public affairs; he had merely applied himself to study, and calculated with his confidential friends the means of profiting by the distress of France. In order not to awaken suspicion, he made no change in his conduct; but whilst the world believed him at Monceau, or at Rincy, immersed in debauchery, he was buried in calculations upon his criminal projects. In a short time his palace became the rendezvous of such gentlemen and members of the parliaments as were dissatisfied with the measures of the court; it was possible to go to and come from this palace with so much the more secrecy, as it stood in one of the most frequented spots in Paris, whereas in the midst of a labyrinth, the number of turnings and windings, prevented any one from being watched who wished to conceal the way he took. Thus he had plenty of time to discuss and arrange his plan, before the court entertained a suspicion of it. He was an excellent master, and his servants kept his secret from the love they bore him; thus the king

was

was not a little surpris'd, when in 1788, wishing only to punish with banishment one audacious subject, he found that by this act of authority, he was attacking a party strongly organized.

The first sparks of the revolution had so electrified the greatest part of the Parisians, that without perceiving it themselves, or without knowing why, they all in a moment, changed their sentiments of disdain for the first prince of the blood, into the most blind attachment to him. His palace became the rendezvous of the discontented; his garden, the assembly of the dissatisfied. His exile was regarded as a public calamity, and his recall was honoured as a triumph. From what we have seen since, it cannot be disputed that his plan had then been long formed. He was possessed of every necessary means for giving it success; his immense fortune, his connections in England with certain members of the ministry and the parliament; in France, with several men of letters, all the innovators, the majority of the parliament, and with many discontented men of rank about the court, all promised him success;

cess; but he himself was deficient in that courage and bravery so necessary to the head of a party. These, he imagined he was able to supply by measures as mean as they were criminal, by stirring up the populace against the king, the queen, the court, and the nobles attached to the ancient order of things.

His very large fortune, which was computed at an annual revenue of seven millions, was employed from 1788, to gain him the attachment of the people, to make him partizans, and to create insurgents. After the taking of the bastille, I have been assured by several of his partizans, that he was sufficiently strong to have produced a revolution in his own favor. It would have been enough for him to have shown himself at the head of his own party, but his pusillanimity kept him apart, expecting to be fought and proclaimed regent. If the quiet virtues of the king were no obstacles to his ambitious plans, the active watchfulness of the queen so much embarrassed him, that he resolved to get quit of her. It was with this intention that the populace rushed into the palace of Versailles on the first days of October,

1789.

1789. No doubt can be entertained of it after what Orleans said to Renfin, at the beginning of 1792. The latter was complaining that the revolution proceeded slowly; "Every thing would however have been at an end by this time," replied the duke, "if the queen had been sacrificed on the 5th of October, 1789." Notwithstanding the more politic than just absolution which he received from the national assembly for this attempt, his culpability was very evident to the eyes of the public. The mission, or rather diplomatic exile upon which the king sent him into England, proves that Louis XVI. thought him culpable; and the duke's having departed without a murmur, was a tacit avowal of his crime.

During his stay in London, he followed his plans exactly the same, till tired by the length of his exile, and learning that his presence was becoming necessary in France, to reanimate the zeal of his partizans, he demanded to be recalled; and notwithstanding the king refused to comply with his request, he ventured to return to Paris without order or leave. Certain connections which he had made in England, obliged him

him to send over thither some of his agents, more fully to concert those measures for the execution of his projects, of which he had as yet only drawn the outline. Petion and Voidel were chosen, and went over with the governess of his children. As the reputation of the duke was not better established in England than in France, he was obliged to have a newspaper appear that was calculated to establish it. The ingenious governess undertook to be his panegyrist. She well knew how to distil into it his praise, without surfeiting by it. Touching with skill upon the critical periods of his political life, she went on speaking with praise of his good qualities ; and it must be confessed that he had some. He was at all times a good father, a good master, and a good friend. Notwithstanding his licentious life, he entertained for his wife all the regard due to her virtues and her exalted mind. He never omitted going once every morning to visit her. He insisted on his servants paying her the most profound respect. One of them having slightly offended her, he immediately turned him away, notwithstanding she interceded for his pardon.

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The necessity which Orleans was in of continually keeping up the people, wasted his fortune immense as it was. His want of money was every day drawing off some of his agents from his party ; the idea of making a republic of the French monarchy dazzled others, who left him to follow that new system ; so that for a year past, he alone, and some few Cordeliers without power, and without means, were the only individuals who cherished the hope of seeing him at the head of the government down to the very moment at which royalty was abolished.

It has been asserted, but it is false, that Orleans was not less deficient in ability than character, and that he suffered himself to be entirely governed by events. Now only let me ask you whether a man would have suffered himself to have been governed by events, who wrote thus in 1791.—“ As a member of the friends of the constitution, you must go to the first assembly of the legislative body, and see their manner of debating ; it is by circumstances that men must be judged ; if you see any who have a rage for becoming orators,
attach

attach yourself particularly to them ; you have an insinuating manner, and by flattering them, you may induce them to use in their speeches phrases, which at the moment may appear insignificant, but which at a future time will oblige them to join our party, &c.”

Was that man without ability who wrote at the same time to Biron : “ For a long time I have been endeavouring to find out what the emigrants are meditating, and I have succeeded at last ; I have just sent off a clever fellow, who promises to get himself appointed private secretary to Condé. Through him I shall learn their projects, &c.”*

Two months before the fall of the throne, Orleans still expected to arrive at royalty. In order to prepare the people to receive him, he ordered a print to be executed, of which three copies only are saved, the engraver having burnt the others, and broken the plate, when the republic was proclaimed. This was the subject of the print : Three figures ranged on one side, and

* See the private correspondence between several persons of rank towards the end of the 18th century, at the printer's of this work.

and three on the other, supported on muskets and pikes, a crown surmounted with a single lilly, round which was this motto, "*We will support it by union.*" In the midst of the group was a figure representing France, holding in its hand a raised club. At its feet lay Louis XVI. dead, and uncrowned. Since France is become a republic, Orleans has lost all hope, and thinks only of keeping on his head; which he hopes to do by showing himself amongst the anarchists, and by voting with them for the most extravagant measures. His vote upon the trial of the king is already known. He answered to somebody who said to him that he would doubtless recall it, or at least not vote for condemning the king to death: "What would you have me do? When I make my relationship an objection to my taking any part in this trial, they tell me that my title of legislator is above every other consideration. Thus, I am obliged to vote for the king's death, because in my opinion, he has deserved death. Besides it is the only method left me of saving my own life." After this horrible declaration, all those who had still remained attached to him, fell off
from

from him, and, with the exception of four persons, he is universally looked upon as a monster.

In the apartment of madame Lamballe there was nothing particularly worthy of notice ; the fury of the populace had here been carried to such a height, that there was scarcely an unbroken piece of furniture to be seen in it. In the midst of this disorder, Lord Bedford was surprised to see the princess's bed covered with such a number of pieces of silk, as would have been almost sufficient to have stocked an excellent mercer's shop. He asked the commissary the reason of what he saw, who thus explained it to him. " You doubtless know that from a custom, of what date I cannot tell you exactly, but certainly of not more than a century back, the court has constantly changed its wardrobe with the seasons. Such a silk was worn in winter, and such a one in summer. The luxury of dress was even so refined as to order what colours were to be worn at certain times. For instance, gold was only to glitter about the person in the time of frost, and silver only to be worn in the dog-days. If any per-

fons had appeared in the gallery at Versailles in any other drefs, than fuch as custom authorized to be worn at that particular feafon of the year, they would have been looked upon as perfons of neither gentility nor fafhion. Thefe filks are all the autumn drefles, which were found about the caſtle, collected on this ſpot.”

In the next room, a ſopha, in the back of which there was a round hole of about four inches in diameter, attracted our attention. After having examined it, the Engliſhman gueſſed it had been made by a cannon ball. When we turned round, we ſaw a pane of glaſs broken in the window, which proved to us that it had entered there, and that it was fired from the garden-terrace on the ſide of the river. Our curioſity to ſee the damage that had been done by a ball, fired from ſo ſhort a diſtance, made us anxious to diſcover its track. We pulled away the ſopha, and found that it had paſſed through a brick wall of fix inches in thickneſs, next through two wooden partitions, and laſtly we diſcovered it driven at leaſt a foot into a very thick wall. The effort of piercing through the brick wall had turned its direction ; for, upon
uſing

using a rule, we found that it had deviated two feet and three inches from its original course. It appeared to us that fortunately no human being had been opposed to it in its flight.

We next went up to the apartments of madame Elizabeth; we did not find them in so great disorder as that of madame de Lamballe. Very little of the furniture was broken; two looking-glasses and a lustre, had here satisfied the popular fury. The bed-chamber, which we examined the first, presented us with two curious objects. The keen-eyed Bedford was the first who discovered them. On one side of the chimney stood a screen of walnut wood of about three feet in height, which he turned round and round; after having examined it, he said to the commissary, "can you tell me the use of this piece of furniture?" "Its shape tells you what it is." "But its amazing weight bespeaks that it was not simply intended to keep off the fire." "That is very true." "But it has another property; can you guess it?" "I think I might find it out sooner than I could guess it." "You had

better not try ; for the mechanism is so artfully contrived that, without knowing the spring, your attempts would probably damage it.” “ If that is the case have the goodness to turn showman upon the occasion.”

The commissary placed the screen in the middle of the room, and after having pushed down a knob, and unfastened three little hooks, the machine unfolded itself, and doubling in height, and growing four times as large as it before was in its breadth, became a complete confessional, of a perfectly light construction, and easy to be moved about. In the inside was a seat, and a shelf placed under a little wicket, which was closed with a wooden grating; in short, there was in it every thing which we find in those in our churches. “ I should have been some time in guessing I fancy,” said the Englishman ; “ I defy all the inhabitants of the three kingdoms to have made out the puzzle ; it must be allowed that you possess infinitely more art in the construction of articles of this kind than any other nation.” “ In those designed for mortification, you may say this one is a proof of it. I dare say you think madame Elizabeth

knelt

knelt before this confessional upon at least a velvet cushion, but you are wrong: here is the one she used, look at it." So saying, he shewed us a lump of black marble, painted yellow round the edge, upon the top of which many holes of different depths were cut. "Indeed this is a refinement upon mortification, which I should never have expected to find in a royal palace. How violently she must have suffered whilst kneeling upon this marble!" "Just as much as if she had been kneeling upon sharp flints." "I fancy you might have looked into a good many convents without finding one like it. This, in my opinion, is sufficient to contradict all the scandal that has been raised upon this virtuous princess." "You are right, this is always my remark to any one whom I hear attacking her character."

"I would not have you think that it is merely since she has lived in the Tuileries that the king's sister has been thus ardent in her devotions. I will prove to you that at Versailles she had entirely given herself up to religion." "I can believe it; and still I remember that when I was in France some years ago, the popular

voice was very much against her, on account of somebody having been crushed under the wheels of her carriage." "I remember it too. Was she answerable for any mischief which arose from the imprudency and bad management of her coachman? She was blamed at the time for not having stopped her carriage, and caused assistance to be given to the unhappy sufferer; but her coachman, instead of stopping, doubled the speed of his horses, and prevented the princess from knowing the accident; and her servants, from fear of being punished, durst not tell her of it. She did not hear of it till many days after, when she immediately had the person sought out, and rendered every assistance to." "This explanation changes the appearance of the story very much." "All who have any right to blame madame Elizabeth, are her horses, for she was so fond of travelling with speed, that she never thought they went quick enough." "Her brother, the count d'Artois, had the same taste." "And this taste was much blamed, as being very likely to produce accidents. But I never heard of any, only the one I have just mentioned to you."

The

The commissary now opened a prayer-desk ; it was full of books of devotion. We looked at them one after another, stopping at such pages as had ribbands between them. They were almost all such as contained prayers adapted to the present unhappy situation of the royal family. These books were all full of little paintings, such as flaming hearts, and heads of Christ, done by this princess herself. Under each she had written some Christian sentence, such as this for instance, extracted from St. Gregory: “ Regard nothing as an evil in this life, not to lose sight of God.” A little paper-case of blue leather, informed us that she had been accustomed to employ herself in a similar manner to her brother ; that is to say, in copying or composing prayers. Out of the hundred leaves which this book contained, half of them were covered with similar sentences, all in her own hand-writing. Several appeared to have been written expressly adapted to the circumstances to which they referred*. In the same paper-case we found

* As some of my readers may be curious to see these prayers, in order to gratify them in part, I have copied

found proofs of the princess having for a long time been most ardently devoted to the culture
of

the following one from the paper-case of madame Elizabeth, which I preserve with much respect.

Consecration of France to the Holy Virgin.

Oh, holy virgin, who hast always so especially protected France! So many proofs are existing how very dear it has always been to thee; at present it is in misery, in greater misery than it ever was before, and thou appearest to have forgotten it. True it is, that France is blameable, but often before has it been so, and thou hast obtained its pardon. How is it then at the present moment that you do not speak in its favor? For were you only to say to your divine son, "They are overwhelmed with misfortunes," soon we should cease to be so. Why then dost thou delay, oh, holy virgin, oh why dost thou delay to change our unhappy situation! Ah, perhaps, God wishes us to renew a vow which one of our kings once made of consecrating France to you! Well then, O Maria! oh most holy mother of Jesus Christ, we give it, we consecrate it to you a-fresh. Oh that my individual voice might prove the prelude to a reconsecration more solemn and universal. Oh that it could but cause to sound again from the throne to the very extremities of the kingdom, that voice, which drew down upon it so many benedictions. Holy virgin, we all devote ourselves to you; cannot the desire of an individual supply the defect of the whole? Cannot the sacred bands which unite us to all the inhabitants of this kingdom, as to our brothers; cannot the charity which extends our views, and opens our hearts to admit them all
into

religion. In turning over the papers with the most scrupulous attention, we found, in her own hand-

into our offering; cannot it render them common with us? Cannot it give to the consecration of an individual the merit and efficacy of a general consecration? We beseech you, oh holy virgin; we conjure you! we hope, and in this confidence we offer you our king, our queen, and their family; we offer you our princes; we offer you our armies, and those who command them; we offer you our magistrates; we offer you every rank and condition of the state; we offer you all such as are charged with the maintenance of religion and morals. In short give to you all France—Oh take up again, holy virgin, your ancient rights over it; restore to it faith, restore to it your former protection, restore to it peace! Restore to it Jesus Christ, who it seems to have lost. Lastly, may this kingdom, re-adopted by you, become entirely the kingdom of Jesus Christ. So be it!”

This prayer, which will doubtless appear to the reader, as it does to me, to have been written since the declaration of war, carries with it a particular character, which distinguishes it from all those of the same kind, which we find in our books of devotion; it is to the same purpose, but the turns are different, and bespeak it to have proceeded from a pen little accustomed to that kind of composition. I would not swear that the princess Elizabeth is its author, but I would willingly bet upon her being so.

This unhappy princess, who was much more worthy of appearing in the list of the blessed, than so many others whom
papal

hand-writing, two *resolutions*, or *rules of conduct*, one dated the 23d of June 1790, the other the 10th of the July following: this last had been written after a short retirement, which terminated that day. The first of these contained a general plan of conduct for every day of her life; in the second was comprehended what the princess laid down to herself to perform every day in the week; she fulfilled the duties of religion as follows:

Sunday.—I will so regulate all my actions, as to shew my desire of repenting of my sins.

Monday.—In order that I may not fear the last judgement, I will act towards freeing myself from all apprehensions of its horrors.

Tuesday.—In order to avoid going to hell, I will fill my mind with the idea, that the greatest evil is to lose sight of God.

Wednesday.

papal policy inserted in it, was beheaded on the 21st of Floreal of the 2d year, with twenty-four other unfortunates, of whom the principal were, Lomenil de Brienne, ex-war-minister, Megret de Serilly, ex-treasurer-general of the war, and his wife, the widow of the ex-minister, Montmorin.

Wednesday.—I will reflect on Paradise, and the happiness that the saints enjoy there.

Thursday.—I will think of the divine sacrament instituted by God, beg of him the favor of often receiving it, and of not dying without having taken it.

Friday.—I will abstract my thoughts from all worldly happiness to embrace the cross of Jesus Christ, and to prepare myself for death.

Saturday.—I will implore the intercession of Maria for me with her son, and give myself up to worshipping her, and all the saints.

“ You see madame Elizabeth was a sister worthy of the king her brother in acts of religion. Like him, she raised her eyes from earth to heaven.” “ Very true, but what appears to me a contradiction to that humility and self-denial which the Roman Catholic religion exacts, is, that haughtiness which she displayed in all her actions.” “ Your term is improper, you mistake for haughtiness, that dignity which she alone of all her family kept up, and still does keep up, even in her present miserable situation. The humility which religion exacts, is not to be expected to extend itself to all the obli-

obligations which the different stages of life impose. A king may be very humble at church, and very imperious on his throne, without any contradiction of character. But, as I understand nothing of argument, I must send you for more clear and decisive solutions to some of the members of la Sorbonne.” “I thank you, but I had rather remain in doubt; besides I think we have said enough upon this subject.”

In the next room was the princess's library. It was composed of books suited to her taste. Many holy fathers; commentaries upon the bible, and liturgy; some works of history; of the arts and the sciences; but not a volume of our modern philosophers, such as Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, &c. &c. At the bottom of the room was a table, upon which were scattered compasses and other mathematical instruments, which lead us to believe that she had employed herself in the study of these abstract sciences. What surprised Lord Bedford was the richness of the instruments. The rules were of ivory embellished with gold, the compass of silver gilt, and all the other instruments in an equally costly stile. “What a contrast!” exclaimed

claimed he, “ By the side of the most rigorous mortification, the most luxurious amusements ; at the feet of a down bed, a painful marble cushion ! Extremes meet, confound themselves together, and unite ; truly it may be said so here. Well, in future we must expect to find a knotted rope hid under an eider down bed, and a hair cloth under a fatten robe.” “ No jokes I beg of you ; reflect that at court, devotion cannot be practised as it is in the cell of an anchorite. It is, in my opinion, a double virtue, if you will allow me the expression, to practice mortification in the midst of abundance ; and Madame Elizabeth, kneeling upon her marble slab in a royal palace, has more merit than *St. Simeon Stilite* contemplating the heavens, upon the top of his pillar in the midst of a desert.”

Near the window looking into the garden stood another table, covered with pencils, colours, and all the attributes of painting. It was at this that the princess amused herself in following the art of Apelles. The different paintings and sketches which we saw, made us conclude that she preferred landscapes, or at least

least that she had lately been much attached to that style. Lord Bedford, who understood painting better than we did, assured us that her performances were far above mediocrity. A little piece, of thirteen lines high and eleven wide, attracted our attention. It contained eighteen grotesque figures very distinctly drawn; in the distance was a house and a landscape. The finishing of it was so much the more curious, as it was painted upon a piece of a playing card, * as she must have had a great deal of difficulty in preventing her colours from running on so spongy a substance. The piece upon which she appeared to have been at work down to the 10th of August, was a landscape, of four inches by five. It was half finished: a flat country in the distance, a wood on one side, and in the fore ground a road, along which two travellers were passing on horseback, were its composition. †

“ You

* My observation will perhaps appear too minute, but I think precision demands that I should say, that the card on which this painting was drawn, was that which represents the king of diamonds.

† In a paper case, entitled “ Expences of the king and his family,” I found that the original arrangement and repairs

“ You have now seen,” said our conductor, “ the interior of the castle of the Tuileries, and all that it contains. We have still only to visit the apartments above those in which we now are ; but I must tell you beforehand that you will find in them no objects of curiosity ; they are very nearly in the same state of disorder as those we have already been in.” “ Then I will now return you my thanks,” said Lord Bedford, “ I have already only abused your good nature too much ; I hope I shall never have the opportunity of indulging your curiosity upon similar circumstances in my own country ; but if I should ever have the happiness of seeing you in London, it will give me great pleasure to return your politeness. I have still a few questions to ask you ; you see I am determined to tire you out.” “ Pray speak, I am ready to

pairs of Madame Elizabeth’s apartments had cost, for the years 1788, 89, 90, 91, the sum of 166,451 livres, 19 sous.

In another article that the queen gave annually from her private purse, 42,442 livres, in pensions, charities, and gratuities.

Lastly, that the household of the king and queen had cost, in 1788, the sum of 24,264,000 livres.

to satisfy you as far as lies in my power.”
 “ You are very polite ; pray, at what sum may you value every thing which has been found in the palace of the Tuileries, since the 10th of August ?” “ I thought you would ask me this question, and I prepared myself to reply to it, by taking an extract from our verbal process, and the inventory. This is the account down to the present moment.

Carried away on the 10th of August,

partly to the legislative assembly,	
partly to different sections in the	
neighbourhood of the palace, in	
money, assignats, or jewels, the	<i>Liv.</i>
sum of about	1,500,000
We found of the same kind of	
things, to the amount of	3,840,158
In china and clocks	900,000
In lace	1,000,000
The books of the five libraries, the	
maps and prints, are valued at....	300,000
The saddles, carriages, and harness	1,500,000
The furniture amounts to about	1,200,000
The linen to	300,000
<hr/>	
Carried forward	10,540,158

Brought forward	10,540,158
Add, stolen and broken on the 10th of August	1,000,000
And otherwise destroyed about ...	1,000,000

Thus you see the royal palace contained riches of all kinds, to the amount of about*..... *Liv.* 12,540,158

“ And how much will be the expence of preserving these riches, and returning them
either

* According to this calculation, it appears that Louis XVI. had very little money at the 10th of August; for if we set aside what had been lent to him for his flight from Paris, some days before his fall, that is to say, according to M. Bertrand de Molleville, a million by M. Duchâtelet, four hundred and eighty thousand livres, by M. de Liancourt, and six hundred thousand livres, by M. Bertrand; we shall find that he had not two millions of his own. But on the other hand, how can we reconcile this poverty of the king's, with what the same author says, that Louis XVI. offered six millions to the faction of la Gironde, to ward off the day of the 10th of August, but that Brissot asked twelve. History must explain this contradiction, as well as many others which occur in almost every page of the works which treat of our revolution. History perhaps, will be able to explain why the same Bertrand, with the air of defending the king, alledges against him more capital accusations, than any of the most furious demagogues have done.

either in their present state, or in specie, into the coffers and magazines of the state?" "I can only tell you the expence of our commission; this it is; for nine commissaries, six clerks, and eight keepers or porters, it costs us 4392 livres and 15 sols, a month; and supposing the commission is kept in pay a year, it will cost the republic, 52,709 livres, for securing to itself more than ten millions and an half."

"That is not much." "Add the expences attending the selling of the furniture; the whole will amount to a hundred thousand francs."

"I repeat that it is not much; this is all I wished to know; and again I return you my thanks; as I am going to leave Paris to-morrow, I hope you will do me the favor to partake of the last dinner I shall make in it." "I accept your invitation with pleasure."

As we were leaving the castle and going towards a coffee-house, we met the physician Guillotin, who accosted us in a very melancholy tone of voice. "You appear low-spirited," said our commissary to him, "what has happened to you?" "It is all over, my friend, the king is condemned." The word benumbed

all

all our senses, and we observed some minutes of silence, which Lord B. first broke. The tears streaming from his eyes, and his voice almost smothered with sighs, he said, "I beg of you sir, to give us some particulars of this horrid trial." "I can reduce it to few words:

Isque habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur; as this will probably not satisfy you, I will tell you what passed; seven hundred and twenty-one deputies were present, when the nominal call was made upon the question of what punishment should be inflicted on the unfortunate monarch. It was exactly at twenty-one minutes after eleven in the evening, that Mailhe first made the senate echo with the dreadful word, DEATH! The nominal call, the arguments used by many of the deputies in support of their votes, lastly, the vote upon the question of delaying the execution, employed the convention for six hours and forty-one minutes; for at two minutes after six this morning, the president pronounced that the king should be beheaded within twenty-four hours; and I

must tell you, that in this night of horror, the nearest relative of the unhappy monarch, Phillip, has filled the measure of his sins by a last crime. These are his words, "Steady to my duty, and convinced that those who have attained, and those who shall hereafter attain to sovereignty over the people, merit death; I vote for death." A groan of horror immediately ran through the assembly, and even the most furious deputies, such as Robespierre, Legendre, and Danton, fled from the approach of this monster. What provoked me, (I am not afraid to confess it) was to see several deputies go out and come back again into the assembly several different times, and whisper their colleagues. Dubois de Crancé behaved particularly indecent in this respect. It must at the same time be confessed that the majority comported themselves in the most becoming manner. Their attention was so closely fixed, that it appeared immoveable. But I think that the president ought to have called the wanderers to order. I took exact notes of the ballot and will show them to you. Of the seven hundred
and

and twenty-one deputies present,* three hundred and sixty-five voted for death, without any restriction

* The reader will probably like to know of whom the national convention was composed, at the moment that sentence was passed upon Louis XVI. The following is a most exact account.

Deputies of the constituent assembly, re-elected into the national convention.....	45
Deputies of the legislative assembly re-elected, <i>idem</i> ...	147
Bishops	14
Episcopal vicars	9
Curates	7
Professors	5
Protestant ministers	3
Judges of the tribunal de cassation, (<i>a tribunal which had the power of annulling sentences already passed</i>)	2
Judges of the criminal tribunals	6
Judges of the tribunals of the districts.....	48
Judges of the peace	26
Men of the law	81
National commissaries	6
Public Accusers.....	7
Presidents of the juries.....	6
Presidents of the departments	12
Procurer-general Syndic of the departments	14
Administrators of the departments	59
Presidents of the districts	28
Receivers of the districts	4
Mayors	34
Municipal officers	5
Procurers of the commune	7
Notaries	

restrictions or conditions ; twenty-three with a demand for a debate upon the time of the execution ; two wished it to be delayed till peace took place, with a power of executing him within twenty-four hours, in case of the French territories being invaded ; two voted for death with the power of changing, or delaying the punishment ;

Notaries	10
Officers of fortification	9
Chiefs of the legions	3
Commanders of the national guards	5
Captains	7
Commissary of the marine	1
Physicians	21
Surgeons	3
Apothecaries	2
Farmers	15
Administrator of the hospitals	1
Land-holders	2
Merchants	22
Shopkeepers	5
Men of Letters	15
Actors	3
Painter	1
Engraver	1
Armourer	1
Cap-maker	1
Butcher	1
Persons whose state was not known	47

nishment; lastly, eight to have it delayed until the expulsion of all the Bourbons; and three hundred and twenty-one voted for imprisonment, amongst whom two voted for having chains put upon him." "Thus," said Lord B. "I reckon four hundred who voted for death." "But you must distinguish between them; several attached conditions to their vote." "What signify those conditions? they nevertheless pronounced the dreadful word." "You are very right; farewell; I am going into the country that I may not be a witness of this astonishing and dreadful execution."

When Guillotin had left us, Bedford asked who he was. "He is," I replied, "that physician, who from a love of humanity, invented, or to speak more correctly, brought to perfection, that machine anciently used for the death of criminals. When it was brought into use last year, they gave it his name, as being its inventor, only making it feminine (*Guillotine*)."

"He had better have kept his invention to himself, for I fear its services must be abused from the facility with which it is capable of destroying a great number of persons

in a very few minutes.” “ I assure you he is quite miserable at having furnished the idea. Since he has reflected in the same manner that you now do, he is constantly uneasy, and in torment of mind; you may see him decline daily, and I should not be surprised to hear, in the course of time, that he was dead of a consumption.* He has decidedly changed his opinions. In 1789, he was one of the most ardent partizans of the revolution; he even made an epoch.” “ How was that ? ” “ At the time that the bills of grievance were digesting in order to be laid before the states, the physician Guillotin drew up one, under the title of the *Petition of the six bodies*. He placed it in the hands of a notary, and invited all the bourgeois to go and put their signatures to it. Several vigorous articles which it contained, alarmed the parliament; and they sent for Guillotin and the notary, who appeared at its bar ;

* The physician Guillotin actually died of grief, at beholding the abuse that was made of his infernal machine. Every body knows that the executioner of Paris, made it move with so great rapidity, that, including the preparations for receiving the deadly blow, he cut off forty-five heads in fifteen minutes.

bar ; but they durst not proceed against them, from the fear of raising a commotion. Upon this occasion the four following lines were composed, which may be looked upon as a prophecy :

The parliament surely is going to die ;

For, what do you think they say ?

It has sent for the lawyer and doctor both—

Must not this be its last day !

The circumstance of the day rendered our dinner a very sorrowful one. Our conversation, as may be imagined, was solely upon the trial of the king ; every one of us calculating upon the events that would follow his death, according to our opinions and ideas. Lord Bedford played the part of a skilful politician, and predicted to us almost every thing that has happened. Before we parted he begged of us both to correspond with him, promising to find us some means of sending him our letters without their having passed under the eye of that inquisition, which the strong revolutionists had already placed in judgement over the thoughts of men. This promise, and particularly the
friend-

friendship for him with which our few days acquaintance had inspired us, caused us to accept his proposal. As I had less business on my hands than our commissary, I undertook to write the letters myself, and to receive those of Milord. All our arrangements being made, we took leave, but not without shedding tears of friendship at parting.

Our correspondence, which contains some historical details, and many anecdotes little known, both of men and things, recounts also whatever else worthy of notice passed in the interior of the castle of the Tuileries; thus I shall make use of it in fulfilling the task which I have imposed upon myself, in the title of this work.

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

LORD BEDFORT, AND A FRENCHMAN.

LETTER THE FIRST.

LORD BEDFORT TO *****

SIR,

London, 24th February, 1793.

I AM exceedingly uneasy about you and our amiable commissary, I have not heard of you since my return two months ago ; has any misfortune happened to either of you ? This idea torments me, when I reflect how easily a crime is committed in a country under a revolution. By our friendship I request you to relieve my uncertainty ; in order to calm it I please myself with thinking that the war is the cause of your silence. This cruel war is then at last declared ! How many new misfortunes will it not bring

bring with it ! I hope that it will make no alteration in our friendship ; national wars do not destroy the sentiments of individuals, and if we should ever meet in the field of battle, we will do as the ancient brave did, embrace before we fight ; I hope that this misfortune will never happen to us, our years assure me that it will not.

I cannot too much admire the noble fierceness of the convention in provoking two more powers to war. This is the true French genius, it does not count its enemies, and is not afraid of their numbers. In the midst of defeat to send fresh challenges is the acme of heroism. I compare you to the giant of Ariosto, who having been cut into pieces, laughing picked up his scattered members, and every moment raised himself up more formidable. With the spirit that animates you, with the forces of France, and above all with your valour, you will tire and exhaust your enemies ; I foresee them humbled, and you triumphant, within a short time.

At leaving Paris, I had laid in so great a store of reflections, that with my brains solely

occu-

occupied in classing them, I arrived in London, without having noticed either the passage or the roads. What a difference there is between these two capitals ! At Paris every thing is in a convulsive motion, scarcely a man where he should be. London presents an useful activity ; in the middle of a crowd every one takes his place himself according to his interest or his taste. I visited our taverns to know what was thought of the grand catastrophe of the 21st January. Our revolutionists (for you must know that London contains many more than it is supposed) were wrapt in its admiration, and loudly said that by this bold stroke, the national convention of France had immortalised itself, and ensured the establishment of the republic. What will appear to you more extraordinary is, that the Englishmen who held this language, were those who engaged Lord Fox to propose to Parliament to send a deputation to plead the cause of Louis XVI. In order to reconcile this contradiction, it is necessary to know the English character.

However painful it must be to a feeling mind to read or relate the particulars of that day,
which

which I, jointly with all good Frenchmen, wish could be struck out of the calendar of that year; the event is so sacred, that I wish to know every particular relating to it. If you know any which are not mentioned in the printed accounts, I desire you will recount them to me in your first letter. It is said here, but I cannot believe it, that a man was placed in the first row of guards that surrounded the scaffold, with a double barrell'd gun, and that he had orders to fire upon the monarch on the least motion that was made to save him. If this is true, I will venture a wager that Orleans was the author of this barbarous precaution. The French emigrants have been stunned with the news of the king's death; you know that several of them, such as Cazalés, Bouillé, Lally-Tollendal, D'Entraigues, Bertrand de Molleville, Huet de Guerville, Degraives, Narbonne, Lauragais, Malouet, and many others, have written to the national convention to exculpate and defend the unfortunate monarch, and that many Frenchmen settled in London, have agreed to present a petition in his favour.

Talking with one of them upon this sorrowful
event,

event, he confessed to me that this blow annihilated all their projects, and that they no longer saw any hopes of re-establishing royalty in France for a long time to come ; he added, “ I am about to depart for Russia, for my companions in misfortune as well as myself, perceive that we are a charge upon your ministry ; besides which we have nothing to expect from them but humiliating pensions ; and although there are some Englishmen who honour us with their esteem, we perceive that the greater part either avoid or despise us. Catherine the Second is on the brink of the grave ; her son, who is to succeed her, protects us ; it is therefore our interest to be in St. Petersburg at the time he shall ascend the throne.”

If your emigrants have committed an irreparable fault in leaving France, it must be allowed that they are severely punished for it. Their wandering lives deserve our commiseration ; I compare them to sick persons who constantly change their position, in the hope of giving themselves ease ; those I conceive are the least to be pitied who have known how to draw happiness from their misfortunes ; having lost
every

every thing, they have raised themselves above fear, and enjoy a state of tranquility which resembles a sleep of the mind; but the greater part of them are more vain-glorious than ever about their birth-right. It must be confessed that this prejudice is terribly enrooted in the heart of man, for even the wise and the renowned Socrates constantly boasted that he was descended from Vulcan by Delia.

If you have destroyed all distinctions of birth, believe me they will be established again, as soon as your government is at peace and fixed upon a solid basis. My opinion is founded upon the experience of several ages; look over the history of all great states, ancient as well as modern, and you will find that distinctions were made in all of them; by reflecting you will perceive that they are highly necessary. It is the warrior's recompense. There is but one step between distinction and reversion. The life of a hero is too short for a nation to consider itself as having sufficiently rewarded him for the services he has performed towards it, by loading him with distinctions during his life; it therefore thinks it ought to testify its gratitude beyond

yond the grave, by conferring the same distinctions on his children; which immediately establishes reversions. The French enthusiasts annihilated them because of the abuse that was made of them, which certainly was very great; but it is not to be concluded, that in order to reform the abuse, it was necessary to annihilate the institution. If you wish to know the extent of reversions, read Plutarch; he tells us that the descendants of Themistocles were enjoying the privileges granted to this general, six hundred years after his death. These reflections are certainly not agreeable to your levellers, but it is to you that I address them, and I am far from injuring you so much as to place you among them.

Some days after my arrival, I met at a friend's house F. N. the agent of your government. I could not be more astonished than I was, when he desired to have some private conversation with me, which I immediately granted him. He then said, "A letter which I received yesterday from Danton, informs me that you have been in Paris, he adds, that du-

ring your stay in that city, you formed a friendship with two of our patriots, the purity of whose sentiments is known to him; this connection may, if you please, be useful to the republic, without injuring your government, and without exposing yourself, as thus; being sent hither by the minister of the exterior to consult with M. Chauvelin, I perceived that this ambassador, in the first interview I had with him, suspected me; he maintained so very great a reserve, that it was impossible for me to impart my plan to him; without doubt this mistrust proceeds from our difference in political opinions; I have acquainted the minister with what I have had the honour of mentioning to you, and I have desired him to point out to me the conduct that I am to follow. I have not only not received an answer to this letter, but three more have met with the same fate. I confess to you that this silence causes me to suspect that an embargo is laid on my correspondence; I therefore request that you will render me the service of inclosing this letter in one of those that you may write to your two friends.

friends. In order to convince you that it contains nothing that can expose you to any difficulty, I will read it to you."

I answered this agent, that although I felt very sensibly flattered by the confidence he seemed willing to place in me, I thought it very improper for an Englishman, and particularly one who was a member of parliament, to undertake to be the protector of a correspondence, of which the design was to discover the secrets of a state in rivalry with France. Notwithstanding this observation, he kept urging me, and endeavoured to argue me into compliance with many common place phrases and high words: he forced me to hear him read part of the letter he had written to Danton; I will impart to you as much of it as I remember, it will serve to increase your collection of anecdotes.

Extract from a Letter of F. N. to Danton, dated
London, 19th October, 1792.

"My conversation with Chauvelin, my dear Danton, may have caused you to foresee that the public will suffer by it. When the minister

gave me orders to concert with him I obeyed, but I anticipated what would happen.—Narbonne and the priest, and the little M. and the constituent, and Jaucourt, &c. see each other, and intrigue the same as at Paris. They all buzz about Chauvelin, and have inflamed the self-love of marquis Feuillant, against the idea of working with me. The wives of constituents, and of constitutionals, join in these intrigues, and Chauvelin brags upon all occasions of the ascendancy he has through his uncle Valkiers, over the mind of Le Brun. I depose these confidencies in your hands, and I recommend them to your discretion, &c.”

Although I should not expose myself to any difficulties by forwarding this letter, which you will see only treats of the intrigues of the refugee French, I thought delicacy required me to refuse it to your agent; like him I desire the greatest discretion to be used about it, at least for a time.

If France be as ill-served in her political relations with other powers as she is in England, she must be very much embarrassed about the measures she ought to take. In London your

two

two agents seem to be more employed in contradicting and suspecting each other, than in discovering the designs of the cabinet at St. James's, from whence you may form a judgment of what credit ought to be given to their communications.

The war which is begun, has interrupted the common course of communication, and may prevent me from soon hearing of you; to avoid this displeasing circumstance, I invite you to make use of Hamburgh, send your letters under cover to M. D. a merchant in that city, who is apprised of their coming, and will forward them to me, and mine to you; in consequence of this arrangement, I hope shortly to hear from you, I expect it with impatience as great as the friendship I have promised you for life.

BEDFORD.

SECOND LETTER.

***** TO LORD BEDFORD.

MY LORD,

Paris, 4th June, 1793.

YOU undoubtedly attribute my silence to a criminal forgetfulness, or to an unpardonable negligence. I beseech you to have a better opinion of one whom you honour with your friendship. Circumstances solely are my excuse; the evening before the declaration of war which France made against England, I myself put a letter I wrote you into our post-office, but it, as well as many others destined for your country, was detained; I reclaimed my letter, which after having been read was delivered to me, and at the same time I was reprimanded on account of certain reflections that I had made to you, which were not relished by the administrator, who is a great revolutionist. Since that time I have not met with a favorable opportunity

portunity to send you a letter, which has given me much, indeed very much, concern; you thus can have no doubt of the joy I yesterday experienced, when I received your letter of the 24th February; I have great pleasure in immediately embracing the method you point out, in order at last to establish our correspondence.

Your dear letter lies before me, and I will regularly answer every article it contains.

It is impossible for any one to be more sensible of the flattering things you say of our commissary than he is; I shewed him your letter, and he has charged me to explain his gratitude to you, and to transmit to you an account of the distinguished sentiments with which you have inspired him. A few days after your departure, this inestimable man narrowly escaped being the victim of a mistake. The affair was this. The seizure of the papers in the iron closet by the minister Rolland, heated the zeal of the deputies whom we call *mountaineers*. Not being able to get the minister's fault punished by the convention, as the majority of them supported him, they addressed themselves to the Jacobins, where they vented all their venom.

As they wanted a victim, Fabré-D'Eglantine, whose subtle principles are known to you, undertook to find one ; after having thoroughly envenomed the business, he said that Rolland could not have got the papers from the Tuileries, without the assistance of our friend the commissary, whose name he mentioned, upon which nothing less was talked of than to arrest, try, and condemn him ; fortunately he was present at the sitting, and desired leave to explain the whole affair, but he was not allowed to speak ; and as there is no interval between a threat and the execution of it, when the Jacobins will it so, he came to me and desired me to give him shelter for one night, which slight service I most readily rendered him.

The next day he went round to all the deputies who were present, when the papers were taken away by the minister, who one and all gave him a written attestation which exculpated him ; and from his brethren in the committee, he procured a similar one, and also an extract from the verbal process which they had drawn up ; and then he spoke to Fabre D'Eglantine, who told him that he had been led into error,
and

and promised to declare it to the society of the Jacobins. Furnished with all these proofs, our friend attended the next sitting of this society, where he evidently proved the falsity of the accusation against him. D'Eglantine having confessed that he had been imposed upon, our poor commissary was white-washed, and *honoured* with the approbation of *our Lords* the Jacobins. He was much frightened, and notwithstanding my now joking about it, at the time I assure you I was not free from alarm myself; for however innocent a man be, calumny always ultimately lowers merit, raises uneasiness, gives birth to doubts, creates fears, and leads to reflections, by which virtue is not a gainer. If in a government at peace with itself, such be the effect produced by this scourge, what evils must it not engender during political storms, in which nothing is so troublesome as an honest man.

You are very right, my Lord, in saying that at present nobody in France is in his proper place. As a proof of it, when the unfortunate Louis XVI. was to be deprived of his life, the public executioner, Samson, had the courage
to

to refuse to perform this terrible office ; “ they may do with me as they please,” said he, “ but I will never suffer my arm to behead my king.” Neither threats nor promises could induce him to alter his resolution ; he was taken to prison, and is still there ; it was one of his relations that officiated in his stead ; if it had been in my power, I would have called upon the butcher Legendre to perform the execution, you must remember having heard him propose to cut the monarch in quarters. *Horresco referens*. I know no particular relating to this mournful day that has not been printed ; only about a fortnight ago I heard a letter read that Herault de Sechelles wrote to his colleague Simon, in which I remarked this passage, “ We have discovered that Rolland refused to sign all the measures relative to the execution of Capet. This gives us a key to many locks.” I must now leave you to reason upon these few words ; as for me I only see in his refusal the dawn of that remorse that rankled in the breast of this minister, who was one of the movers of the fall of the king.

As to the man with a double barrelled gun, I
do

do not know whether there be any truth in it ; but suppose he were seen armed in that manner, it does not follow, that the dreadful order you mention was given to him. What is most natural to suppose is, that being commanded to attend the execution, and not having a military musket, he made use of a fowling piece. If he who first told this tale, had taken the pains to examine the troop, he would have seen more than one gun of that kind ; there were amongst them not only men armed with fowling-pieces, but some of them had pikes, scythes, &c. It is in this manner that the most trivial actions are blackened, I therefore request you not to give credit to such tales ; and as to Orleans he has already a sufficient number of crimes upon him ; it is needless to load him with fresh ones ; besides he is on the road to the place where he will receive his acquittal of them. On the 7th of April, he was taken up and thrown into the prisons of Marseilles.

You asked me some time since, if I knew the number of men that perished on the 10th of August ; it was then unknown to me, but I have since. in order to satisfy you, endeavoured to

to find it out, and the following, which are the most probable calculations, were taken from the numbers made out by the police and the military, according to which there perished,

On the side of the besiegers

Horse soldiers	40
Confederates	500
Of the mob	3000
Men killed for theft	200
<hr/>	
Total	3740

On the part of the palace, or castle,
Men belonging to the patrol, put to death

at the Feuillants	9
Commanders of the national guards.....	3
Privates of the national guards.....	2
Swiss officers	22
Swiss soldiers	700
Swiss, or foreigners, in the streets.....	10
Servants of the king	106
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Total	852

Total amount of men killed on that day	4592
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The minister Lomenie de Brienne, has lately shot himself; he had very dearly purchased from Danton leave to return to France; in order to prevent his being suspected, he sent back his cardinal's hat to Rome, and laid down the cassock. Notwithstanding these precautions, he was informed against. Fear seized him, and to avoid the scaffold, he killed himself. I will not advise you to undertake his funeral oration: it will be very difficult to make his *post mortem lauda*. Examples of suicide are very rare among the prelates. The first that I know of was the bishop of Grenoble Bouteville, who destroyed himself in the same manner that Brienne did.

Our new government is already acknowledged by one power; (a very weak one indeed!) The senate of Venice on the 26th of January, authentically acknowledged the French republic. All the rest will follow, and for the cause of humanity, the sooner they do it the better, as a peace will be the consequence. I know you to be so much of a philanthropist as readily to join me in my wish for that event. But we are at this moment farther than ever from seeing it accomplished. The conflagration is too general,

general, and the wills of too many oppose it. With us, the want of plan, of political system, the disorder that reigns in our senate, the restless ambition of some, the mean jealousy of others, and the natural mistrust of all the French, are so many insurmountable obstacles. To overcome them, we want a man of sense and talents, who is sufficiently the friend of his country to come forward and prove himself so. Hitherto I do not know one; I meet with several pragmatical politicians who are *called* sensible men (*gens d'esprit*), but who *act* so contrary to their name, as only to produce convulsive motions amongst the people and in the assembly. France represents a burning mountain at the time of its eruption; all those who dwell near it are seen running wildly about, taking no heed to follow a path by which they may escape the current of burning lava; bruising themselves at every step, and many of them perishing in their attempts to avoid what they dread.

Another circumstance that keeps peace at a greater distance than we sincerely wish it, is the designs of the inimical powers, who all consider France as a domain which they propose to divide
amongst

amongst them. But what you say is very true, the genius of France overlooks them, and the courage of my countrymen, who forget their personal quarrels to confront common danger, will know how to disappoint this premature agreement.

On the news of the war which sets our two countries at variance, seven hundred thousand fighting men, called upon by the convention, rushed to the frontiers without a murmur from any one of them, and by their conduct caused those cowards to be forgotten, who followed the traitorous and boasting Dumourier.

Like to you I am very unhappy at this war which makes us enemies. Happily your great efforts will be directed against our islands, which are the constant objects of your government; we are here so satisfied of it, that despairing of engaging with Englishmen upon the continent, the French talk of seeking them in London, being persuaded with Jean de Vienne, that they are no where weaker and more easily to be overcome *, than at home. But I know
that

* Jean de Vienne, who first held this language, since passed into a maxim, was made admiral of France in 1373.
by

that an invasion is more easily talked of than effected ; at the same time I do not look upon it as an impossibility. If it be undertaken, although you are a very great enemy to war, I know you are too good an Englishman to prevent my being disappointed in learning that you will be found on the shore ready to oppose our landing. The danger to which you would be exposed, would alone prevent me from calling out with the Frenchmen, *Delenda est Carthago* ; for London is to Paris, what Carthage was to Rome ; as for *Delenda*, you undoubtedly believe that I do not desire it in the whole acceptation of the word ; if you do not think so, you injure me greatly.

The frantic provocations that have led the deputy Marat to his crimes, have in some measure obliged the convention to punish him. After an appeal to the people about a plundering of the grocers, which unfortunately took place on the 29th of February, the assembly.

by Charles V. He was convinced of this fact by the descents that he had made upon England and Ireland. He was killed in the unfortunate affair at Nicopolis in 1396.

sembly passed a decree of accusation against him, by a majority of 220 votes to 92 ; forty-one votes declared that they had no desire to vote at that time, and seven proposed an adjournment. The consequence of this decree brought on his arrest, and a trial in which he was acquitted ; after which he was taken from the bar by his party, the lowest of the mob, and carried in triumph into the midst of the convention.

The whole of this affair was conducted with indecency and bad policy. There was indecency in the debates in the assembly ; indecency in the instruction and trial, which were more than ridiculous ; and indecency in the manner in which he re-entered into office. As for the bad policy, it consisted in the decree of accusation that the convention issued against Marat, as by so doing they tore off the cloak of inviolability which covered its members. Nothing now prevents their decimating, or annihilating themselves : it has constituted itself its own jury of accusation. This reflection which I made at the time, shewed itself in full force the second of this month. This event is too remarkable for me not to relate it to you.

The sentence of the king has been the apple of discord that has divided the convention; three distinct parties are formed therein, and were produced by the different opinions delivered on this famous business; not upon the punishment pronounced, but upon the question of the sentence being ratified by the people. The first of these parties, composed of those who delivered the most violent opinions, is named the *mountain*. Danton and Robespierre are its leaders. The second, which has been pleased to call itself the *federalists* or *girondins*, is headed by Brissot and Verginaux; all those who have voted for an appeal to the people, are on its side. And the third, which is known under the denomination of the *plain* or *marshes*, contains the timid and the impartial; I do not know their chiefs; Bailleul and Royer appear to be the most distinguished in it. The two first parties are continually at war with each other, and are alternately victorious and subdued; they owe their reciprocal triumphs solely to the third party, who sometimes support the mountaineers, and at other times the girondins; and the two opposites employ their powers

powers to draw the third party to their side. Is it general good that causes the two first parties to act in such a contrary manner? They say so, and repeat it too often for a sensible man to believe them; he only considers it as a violent struggle of who shall get possession of power.

Without entering into particulars that you may read in your newspapers, I will content myself with mentioning that this indecent struggle began with the king's death, and continued until the second of this month, when the mountaineers gained a complete victory; but they owe it to a measure as crafty as it is criminal, which I will communicate to you. The decree of accusation against Marat, made the girondins believe that they were decidedly triumphant; from that time they wished to pursue without intermission, the dangerous enemies they still had, and to reach them more surely, they caused a commission to be created, to consist of twelve members of the convention, to watch over the interior safety. This commission invested with the necessary powers, caused several individuals to be arrested; amongst the rest, a person named Hebert, known by the name of

father Duchêne, who published a daily paper, as filthy as anarchical, in one word the rival of Marat's. This arrest caused all the scoundrels in the capital to set up a roar. The vanquished mountain profited by this moment to retrieve its defeat; at the same time that it fed the rage of this criminal mob, it pointed out to them what steps to take. Commissaries who said that they were appointed by the sections, but who in reality were only chosen by the mutinous, assembled under pretext of saving the country from the dangers to which it was exposed; but their real design, as you will judge, was to get rid of the victorious part of the convention. In order to compass their end more securely, these pretended saviours of the people organised into an armed force all the vilest beings that Paris contained. Henriot, one of the party, appointed commander of the national guard, put himself at the head of this collection. Every thing being thus disposed, the attack was begun by denunciations against certain deputies, and by demands to annul the commission by which Hebert and others had been arrested.

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The mountaineer deputies, siding with the leaders, received and supported, all in their power, these audacious and criminal demands, which the majority of the convention in part rejected, but coincided with in certain points, by giving liberty to those who had been arrested, and by suppressing the commission that had been appointed, the conduct and proceedings of which were ordered to be examined into.

This weakness encouraged the mutinous, who immediately unmasked all their audaciousness.

The commune was of the party of the mountain, and gave into all its projects.

In order to frighten the convention, who since the 10th of May, had held their sittings at the Tuileries, in the morning of the 31st of May, an armed force was ranged in order of battle before that palace. A petition which contained a demand to proscribe all those whom they named federalist deputies, was presented to that assembly by commissaries, who said they were charged with the voice of all the inhabitants. After a weak debate, the assembly sanctioned this revolt, and declared that the

sections of Paris had deserved well of their country. This was all that was done that day.

The next day the armed force appeared in a greater number, bringing with them cannon and all the implements of war. They continued to demand, by the organ of the commissaries, the arrest and punishment of the deputies that they named. The committee of public safety, by a guilty weakness, proposed to the assembly to invite the denounced deputies, voluntarily to resign their offices. Only three of them agreed to it; these were Isnard, Lanthenas, and Fauchet. Lanjuinais and Barbaroux had the courage to declare that they would not do it. The spectators in the galleries allowed themselves to make use of the strongest invectives, and were supported by the mountaineer deputies. The convention was at a loss what resolution to take, when Barrere relieved it from its irresolution; upon a complaint that was made by some of the deputies, that the convention was not free; he proposed, in order to prove the contrary, to go out in a body, and to deliberate in the midst of the armed force that was besetting it. The
assembly

assembly agreed to this proposal, that is, it made the tour of the garden of the Tuileries, without speaking a word, returned, and resumed its deliberations. The weak and undecided deputies were so much frightened by the sight of arms, that they agreed to the demand of arresting the denounced deputies to the number of thirty-two. Three of them however found defenders; the butcher Legendre, excused Boyer-Fonfrede and Saint Martin; Marat saved Lanthenas. Thus finished this day, which gave all the power to the party of the mountain. Thus those who had torn off the cloak of inviolability, which protected them, in order to get rid of one of their brethren, became the authors of their own destruction. May not these two lines of one of our poets, be justly applied to them?

Ye who judge kings, and of our earthly laws declare the
sense;

Beware to take the law of justice for your own defence.

Do not think, my lord, that this event which portends so many evils to us, is looked upon with a satisfied or even an indifferent eye, by good Frenchmen. It is the deed of a handful

of factious men. Of all France, Paris alone is guilty, because it was prepared and executed in her bosom, but its inhabitants have shewn for this event the same insensibility, that they did for the fall of the throne and of the king, though internally attached to the monarchy. With what misfortunes is not my poor country going to be overwhelmed ! This then, in a revolution, is the effect of parties disputing power ; they fly upon each other, maim and bruise each other, and conclude their strife with burying the ruins of the government, which they have overthrown.

The fall of the girondin party, appears to me to be a prognostic of that of the party of the mountain.

The Tuileries where this event took place, presented on those two mornings the same view that it did on the tenth of August ; a troop of men, as ill provided in dress as in arms, surrounded the palace, disposed to lay another siege to it ; I am fully convinced, that if the convention had refused the demand of the commissioners with firmness, there would have been blood spilt.

None

None of the articles that you saw in this palace remain there ; it required two months to empty it of all the moveables, which have been carried to the hotel Coigny. The convention, the committees and their officers, occupy the whole of the palace. The alterations that have been made in the interior, have so much changed the distribution of the apartments, that you would scarcely know them again.

Our commissary, who is always on the watch to be serviceable where he can, has rendered a very great service in the present circumstances to one of the proscribed. He knew that his friend the deputy Lanthenas, was on the proscribed list ; the evening before the insurrection he asked one of the men who are improperly called (*patriotes exaltés*) exalted patriots, and who are only dangerous anarchists, to get leave for him to speak to Marat. The man took him to Marat, and he spoke to this fanatic about Lanthenas, and represented him to him as a visionary fool, by no means dangerous. The commissary told me that he adopted this method, because he knew that if he had founded the defence of his friend upon his innocence,

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that he should not have succeeded in saving him. Marat gave credit to this fable, and on the fatal day, he told the convention that Lanthenas, whom he ironically called *doctor Lanternas*, was an idiot, not capable of any guilty design; and upon this assertion the convention erased him from the proscription list.

I will in a few words inform you to what our interior is reduced by the event of this day; the proceedings against the murderers of the second of September is suspended; this shameful and dishonorable suspension calls to my mind these words of Boileau, "Those who are dead, are dead." A tribunal and a revolutionary committee has been created.—Paris is in an uproar.—France in a convulsive motion.—All the youth run to the frontiers to fight our enemies, the number of whom we have increased, by declaring war against England, Spain, and Holland.—The declamations of Marat and of Herbert, have made the populace believe that equality ought not only to take place amongst men, but also in their fortunes. To put a stop to the crimes that such an error might produce, the convention have published a law, which,
upon

upon pain of death, forbids the propofal of the agrarian law.

It muft be allowed, that thofe who take for their fupport the Roman agrarian law, when they preach up the levelling of fortunes, are either very ignorant or very wicked. The Roman fenate never intended by this law to make an equal divifion among the citizens of all the lands belonging to the repulic.

Since this feed of civil war has fprung up, I have thoroughly examined a multitude of Roman laws ; the refult of my reading them is, that I find that Rome only knew citizens and flaves ; the firft of thefe were folety allowed to follow agriculture or arms ; the mechanical arts were allotted to the flaves. During a war, the ftate fed and maintained the citizens ; but when peace, age, or infirmities obliged them to quit the military fervice, they had no means of fubfiftence without the ftate affifted them, which it did in the following method : when the republic had conquered any country, it appropriated a part of the conquered lands to itfelf. One half of them were fold for the benefit of the ftate, to reimburse the expences of the war,

war, and the other half was given to poor citizens, for which they were only obliged to pay a small annual tax. This donation was made by a law, called *Lex agraria*, agrarian law, or the law of land.

The senators and the great men, who were insatiably thirsty for riches, raised this tax to so great a height, that the poor who paid it, had nothing left to subsist upon. By this means the senators got the lands into their own hands, and had them cultivated by their slaves. The consul Cassius, in order to remedy this evil, proposed a law which ordered the division of *the lands newly conquered*, in order to relieve the wants of the poor citizens, and the restitution of those that the nobility had usurped from the public domains ; and to prevent abuses in future, this law forbids every Roman citizen to hold above five hundred *arpents* of land of the domain that the republic gave away, subject to an annual tax.

This is the Roman agrarian law ; there is not the least mention, as you will see, made in it, of the levelling of property, nor even of a
general

general division of lands, only of *conquered* lands.

This truly just political law raised against its author every rich and ambitious man that Rome contained, and the unfortunate Cassius, at the expiration of his consulship, was condemned by the senate, to be cast headlong from the Tarpeian rock, as an enemy to the state. This iniquitous sentence is sufficient to point out to you, into what an excess of immorality the Romans were then sunk.

I cannot, my Lord, add any thing more to day; pressing business calls me this moment several leagues from Paris.

I have the honor to be, &c.

THIRD LETTER.

LORD BEDFORD TO *****

SIR,

Bath, 25th July, 1793.

DO not let the place from whence my letter is dated, give you any uneasiness about my health, I am come hither to amuse myself, not to drink the waters. Bath is to England what Spa is to France, a collection and medley of all classes in life, some for fashion sake, others for curiosity, many for a livelihood, and but few on account of their health. It is a whirlpool, which sucks into it and confounds together the coquette and the prude, the honest man and the knave; in one word virtue and vice. Be but polite and amusing, and you will be admitted every where without any enquiry being made whether you are a worthy man or a rascal. If I directed the police of a state, and wished to free it from courtezans and sharpers,

sharpers, I would in the season attend the watering-places, and seize upon every one that I found there, by this means I should be in a fair way of extirpating this double and dangerous vice; the innocent man, who would only for a very short time be included amongst them, would be the first to forgive the mistake. Allow that mine is a happy idea; it is not the punishment of petty thieves and common strumpets, which gives us safety and morals, but it is the punishment of the privileged vicious.

There are at this time in Bath many of your fugitive Frenchmen, who scarcely speak to each other without quarrelling; this conduct deprives them of that attention, which there was here an inclination to shew them; their wrangling proceeds from their difference of opinion; some of them staunch loyalists, breathe only absolute monarchy, or rather despotism; most of these are nobles of ancient descent, great ecclesiastics, or first rate financiers, who acknowledge no other chiefs than the princes of the house of Bourbon.

The other party consists of those who have laboured to reform the ancient constitution of
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the kingdom, and who first propagated those principles of political liberty and equality, which the French people now seek to establish in their literal meaning; this is at once telling you that La Fayette is at the head of this party, which is chiefly composed of members of the constituent assembly. There is yet another class of emigrants, which the first party avoids and despises, they are those who left France, with their leader Dumourier; it is composed of military men who followed this general; of nobles deprived of public functions which the new constitution had entrusted them with, and of that small number of members of the convention who had the courage to vote for the life of Louis XVI.

The quarrels in public, the jealousies, the animosities and active intrigues of these three parties, whom common interest and misfortunes ought to unite, give offence to all those who hear them, and every day lessen the esteem they were held in. It is, however, but just to say, that the two last parties, whose difference in opinion is very trifling, might be easily reconciled, if it were not for the first party, who
make

make a point of preventing it, by supporting each side in its way of thinking.

It is a vain attempt to endeavour to terrify you with the projects of your fugitive Frenchmen, I can assure you that you have nothing to fear from them; if they were animated with real zeal for the cause, would they not immediately join the insurrection in that part of France which offers to them a secure shelter in the bosom of their country, and assist in forming as formidable a league as that of which Henry IV. was the chief?

In the calamitous situation that your country is in, I am confident that if they took this step, royalty would soon be re-established, and your ferocious Jacobins, your bloody tribunal, your furious mountaineers, and your hideous anarchists, would in their turn be obliged to fly from France.

Thus far I have only written to you melancholy reflections without giving you any news; you must attribute it to the fatal circumstances of the times, to the evils which afflict humanity, and to the vices which cover the globe. The more we study men, the less we are in-

spired with interest for them ; there are very few whose company can please us every day for above an hour. How very imperfect is the human race ! There are so many things which it is dangerous to learn, so many that one is ashamed to know, and so many which it is useless to be instructed in, that one is tempted to believe ignorance preferable to knowledge, and idleness more satisfactory than study.

Indeed, history is no more than a narrative of the crimes of men, and a description of their madness and ambition. The study of nature presents their imperfections to us, and that of the abstract sciences brings daily to light the weakness of their ideas and understandings. The eternal, without doubt, when he created man, only half finished his work ! but to what lengths does not my ill temper hurry me ? Excuse this over-flowing of the bile ; I forgot that France contains one estimable being ; in gratitude for his good qualities, I forgive the rest of the human race.

Talking the other day with one of the Frenchmen that accompanied Dumourier in his flight, the conversation led to war, and the means

means of putting an end to it; he communicated to me a letter that the French resident at V—— had sent to him to be forwarded to Danton; I have made the following extract from it, to send you, without allowing myself to add to it any reflections of my own. I expect you will acquaint me with your's upon this plan for putting an end to the war.

Extract from a letter from N—— the French Resident at Venice, written to Danton in 1793.

“ This is what may be attempted towards a negotiation.

“ Endeavour to profit by the dissatisfaction of the king of Prussia, and to detach him from the coalition by guaranteeing to him his conquests in Poland, and by giving him to understand that hitherto he has only had a camp, but now that he has a kingdom, it is time for him to leave off being a captain, in order to become a king.

“ Hold up to Spain the danger she is upon the point of incurring of becoming the slave of England, like Portugal, an English province,

vince, and of being obliged to open her ports in South America to her dangerous friends.”

“ Give England to hope that you will cause Spain to make great sacrifices to her ; although in good policy you are not to attempt it. Throw out to her the bait of a renewal of the treaty of commerce, reserving to yourself the fixed resolution of amending it considerably, particularly in what relates to the silk trade, upon the restoration of which you are not to listen to any composition.

“ I do not speak to you of any other powers, they will in course, as satellites, follow Prussia and England.”

To this project of giving peace to Europe, your resident N——, imbued with the maxim, *Si vis pacem, para bellum*, added a plan of operations for the campaign, of which I also send you a copy.

“ Plant our frontiers with bayonets like those of Weiffembourg ; repair and store all the places on the second and third lines ; conceive a general system of which each military chief has only a part to execute ; endeavour to prevail
on

on the states of Barbary to make war on Spain, and the lesser powers of Italy ; send a fleet to the Dardanelles, without which the Turks will never come to a determination ; work upon the Swifs by the danger that threatens their independence ; determine the United States of America to attack Canada and Louisiana ; make some attempts upon Ireland, whilst our fleet blockades Jamaica, and above all do not forget that it is in the East-Indies that you must attack the English, and that consequently you must cause Tippoo-Saib, who impatiently bears the yoke of the last treaty he made with that imperious nation, to declare war against them, and for this purpose you must assist him with men and ships."

You have here, my dear Sir, all the news that I am able to give you ; all we have here we receive from France, it gets changed upon the road, and I distrust all information that I do not receive from you.

The insurrection of the 2d of June, must be very contrary to your welfare, at least I judge so from the joy it gave to your emigrants and to our ministers ; according to my opinion that is

the best touch-stone upon which to discover the fears and hopes of your enemies. What at this instant characterises your nation, is, the credulity with which she swallows the superb descriptions that the convention gives of its future happiness. I cannot more properly compare the orators who undertake this task to any thing than to the painters of the heroes of Homer, who give them physiognomies of their own invention. At the same time it appears as if the convention privately doubted the truth of what it asserted, as it is every day prescribing new oaths to support it by.

The number of oaths that your assemblies have obliged to be taken within these four last years, are very humiliating both to them, and to you.

You have told me that of all your daily papers, the *Moniteur* is the most to be depended upon, and the most circumstantial ; I read it very attentively, and particularly that part of it which relates to the sittings of your senate. I am sorry to see that it is so agitated in its debates, and so embarrassed in its determinations. It appears as if the enemy
of

of France was in the midst of it, and prevented its making any good laws. If by chance any good ones are resolved upon, they are preceded by the most violent agitations. I conceive, as Mr. Fox has said, that the National assembly, surrounded by so much rubbish, and by so many enemies that threaten it, cannot rectify all abuses at once, but I also know that there is another manner of deliberating, it is that one which Tacitus points out to us; that author says, "The shortest, and at the same time the most useful manner of deliberating, in prosperity as well as in adversity, is to recal to one's mind what one has blamed or approved of under another government."

Methinks I hear you answer me, that men, whether met in an assembly or a spiritual council, in a diet, or at the council-board, are hurried away by a spirit of confusion and error, which mostly produces false or ridiculous resolutions, and that it is always one man only who hits upon the right and profitable.

The post-boy is waiting for my letter, he grumbles very much, and only gives me time to repeat the sentiments of friendship, with which I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

FOURTH LETTER.

* * * * * TO MY LORD BEDFORD.

MY LORD,

Paris, 13th Aug. 1794.

IF, as an Italian poet has said, all the earth were one sheet of paper, the sea ink, and all the trees pens, they would be insufficient to the writing of all the particulars relative to our revolution. Since my last, so many interesting events have happened, that I am at a loss which to select; happily the daily papers have acquainted you with the majority of them, and it is therefore necessary for me to mention only those that they have omitted.

The news of the decimation of the national assembly on the second of June, struck all the departments with a kind of stupor; some of them looked upon it as an outrage, of which they conceived the design of avenging themselves.

selves. Several deputies who escaped the proscription, encouraged them in this idea, and a federative league was formed against the convention, which gave birth to the revolt at Lyons, to the increase of the force in La Vendée, and lastly to the surrender that was made to you of Toulon.

At this moment France disorganized itself, and was rent by a civil war; its exterior enemies, profiting by the defection wherein Dumourier had left our armies, and the want of unanimity between our generals, attacked us on all sides, took Condé and Valenciennes, reconquered the Low Countries, and entered Alface. To face all these dangers, France was without arms and ammunition, and without allies to furnish it with them. It only had unarmed warriors.

What is worthy of the admiration of future ages, France not only opposed, but overcame her interior and exterior enemies. In an instant the convention turned all the republic into a workshop; while some were employed in converting the iron taken from the churches into muskets and cannon, and the leaden coffins into balls,

balls, others were searching into the bowels of the earth for saltpetre to make gunpowder; as soon as a musket was fabricated, it was given to a young citizen, who flew with it to the frontiers. What will appear incredible to you is, that on the very day that a father has been brought to the scaffold, his son has set out for the army, and has fought like a hero for that party, who at one blow, deprived him of the author of his life and of his fortune; for you know, my lord, that a barbarous law confiscates the property of those unfortunate persons that perish by the guillotine. Allow, my lord, that there are few Englishmen who have given such an example of having devoted themselves to their country.

I never shall have sufficient fortitude to relate to you all the horrors that have dishonoured Paris; to see the tranquillity with which its inhabitants permit these *legal* murders, you would take them for a den of antropophagi. Nevertheless the number of the victims was much greater than that of their murderers, the audaciousness of the latter was their support; instead

stead of uniting to exterminate them, every one isolated and hid himself to avoid being laid hold upon. You know the power and the effect of fear, it makes so strong an impression upon the mind, that the grief for the loss of relations and friends is scarcely felt by those under its influence. Not insensibility but an almost universal stupor reigned. Even the victims met death with an indifference that can hardly be conceived.

I will in a few words give you the leading features of the convention, since my last.

When the party of the mountain had succeeded in getting quit of the most dangerous of its antagonists by imprisonment; they terrified the few girondins that remained in the convention in such a manner, that they abandoned their post to preserve their liberty. There then only remained the party of the plain, whom fear rendered silent on their seats, or prevented from constantly attending the sittings. The mountaineers remained united for some time, that is to say as long as their safety depended upon it. In order to re-attach the people to the
con-

convention, they fabricated, in a great hurry, an ill formed constitution, that they presented, decreed, and published almost at the same moment, to establish a revolutionary government. From this instant Robespierre audaciously seized the reins of anarchy, dictated the laws, issued even his own orders, without even any one of the deputies attempting to oppose him.

The suspicious and irascible character of this little monster, caused him to create the most ridiculous and barbarous decrees. By the side of an order to turn the backs of those fireplaces on which there were any lilies, was that dreadful law which deprived the accused of defenders, which took from those unhappy persons the privilege of speaking in their own cause ; in a word, silence before the tribunals was decreed ; no more instructions for the council, no more debates in the presence of the jury were allowed. Every thing was reduced to these two interrogatories ; “ *Your name ?* ” — “ *Have you done or said such a thing ?* ” Upon the answer of yes or no, they were dragged to the scaffold.

After

After such a decree,* of which there is not an example in the laws of Draco, the most virtuous men and the purest patriots were led to the scaffold for a word or a suspicion.

The assassination of the demoniac Marat, of whom a new Judith deprived the executioner, by whose hand only he ought to have perished, caused the tyrant Robespierre to tremble ; that vile blood being spilt, occasioned his making laws

** Decree of the 22d of Prairial, ordering punishment of death to the enemies of the people.*

This decree says, “ That those are to be considered as such, who seek to annihilate the liberty of the people by force or by craft ; those who endeavour to make the national convention and the revolutionary government, of which it is the centre, *contemptible* ; those who seek to lead astray the opinion, and to prevent the instruction of the people ; those who seek to deprave the morals, and to corrupt public conscience, and lastly, those who seek to change the purity of the revolutionary principles.”

“ The requisite proofs to condemn them are, *All kinds of material or moral documents* which can naturally give conviction to a just and reasonable mind.

“ The rule for the sentences, is the conscience of the juries, enlightened by the love of their country ; and their end, the triumph of the republic, and the ruin of its enemies.

“ If such documents as are abovementioned are produced, *no witnesses shall be heard.*”

laws, at which even Tamerlane would have blushed. He looked upon every one in and out of the senate as an assassin, and from that moment he proscribed and put to death every one that met his haggard eye. He took his victims indiscriminately from amongst all ranks, from all classes of society, and even from his own family, for he proscribed his own sister. But he chose them particularly from the bosom of the convention; he soon began to suspect his co-labourers in revolutionary madness; in order to destroy them, he fomented a division among the mountaineers, and employed one party to annihilate the other. Thus Danton, Chabot, Baire, Anarchais Cloots, Herault Sechelles, Camille Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine, &c. were led to death by Barrere, Collet d'Herbois, Couthon, St. Just, Romme, Billaud Varennes, Tallien, &c.

The most remarkable of his victims was without a doubt D'Orleans, this man was so universally odious, that all parties concurred in his fall, and it was seen with general satisfaction. I have heard a person, who though he blamed him for his crimes and his vices, was attached

to

to him until his death, say, “ that if he would he could have got him out of the way of punishment.” The anecdote attending this circumstance he related to me as follows : D’Orleans, shut up in prison at Marseilles, lived tolerably easy about the fate that awaited him, when a decree ordered his being brought back to Paris ; the few friends that remained to him, the chief of whom were Madame Bouffon, and Voidel, looked upon this return as the end of his banishment, the fruit of their applications, and the revival of his party. The commander of the troops ordered to escort him, who was devoted to Orleans, did not look upon the affair in the same light, and resolved to save him if he testified to him the least desire to that purpose. A ship, purposely prepared in the port of Marseilles, was destined to carry him wherever he pleased to go. The escort, composed of soldiers chosen by this commander, went to seek D’Orleans in his prison ; and in an interesting and emphatic manner asked him whether there was any thing he wanted, or any thing that he wished for. D’Orleans contented himself with thanking them for their attentions. The commander

mander fearing that the duke did not understand the meaning of his questions, repeated them several times after they had set out, and D'Orleans always merely thanked him. "If," said the commander, "he had expressed the least uneasiness, I should have conducted him immediately to the port, and have embarked with him; but careless about the future, his answer always was, my friends I do not want any thing, and I thank you."

He who related to me what I have just now written to you, added, that being less satisfied himself than D'Orleans' friends were about the purpose of his journey, he got a person to inquire of Fouquier Tainville, public accuser of the revolutionary tribunal, what was the motive of the decree which recalled this criminal to Paris, and that this tiger answered, "*A pretty question! to cut his throat.*" "I ran immediately," said he, "with this cruel answer to Madame Buffon, who would not give credit to it."

This blindness of D'Orleans and his party, I am of opinion, was the bandage which divine justice tied over the eyes of this great criminal,

to prevent his seeing the path by which he might have escaped the punishment of his crimes.

It seemed as if all Paris wished to see this intriguer in his last moments, the streets through which he was to pass to the scaffold, were so much crowded by the curious, that the procession was frequently obliged to stop. The culprit showed a great firmness in the midst of the shouts of joy and invectives that accompanied him the whole way.

This man's end calls to my mind a courageous speech that a citizen made at the time of the height of his power. Citizen Corberon of the district of the Minimes, at the election of a mayor in 1791, accompanied his vote with these words: "As I think that the first mayor will be hanged, I give my vote to him who I believe deserves the gallows the most, and I therefore name D'Orleans."

The death of Danton and of many other vigorous deputies opened the eyes of the mountaineers to their own danger. It was not before this moment that they began to suspect the intentions of Robespierre. In a reunion of the
com-

committees of public safety and of public security, he was asked many questions upon the conduct he held, to which he refused to answer. After some reciprocal upbraidings a decided division took place. Robespierre from that time no more attended at the sittings of the committee of public safety, of which he was a member; he formed a league with Couthon, St. Just, Lebas, and some others, established separate offices, and began a private correspondence with all the propagandists of the departments.

On the other hand the committee of public safety, to compass his ruin the more easily, altered the locks of the doors of which he had a key, and each party worked separately. Robespierre who was now decidedly in the minority of the convention, it might naturally be supposed was an uncommonly bold man; on the contrary, he was a very great coward; as a proof thereof, I will mention to you, that about eight days before his fall, he took it into his head to go to the committee room, where he had not been for six weeks; he pitched upon a time when all the members were absent, from

which there cannot be a doubt but that his intention was to examine their papers ; he addressed himself to a clerk who was writing in one of the lower rooms, and ordered him to light and conduct him. He went first, the clerk followed with a wax candle in his hand up the back stairs, in the long black corridor that you know ; all on a sudden fear seized him, he turned round, stopped, and ordered the clerk to go on before him, who could not help saying to him, “ Do you think I want to assassinate you ? ” Robespierre answered, “ You serve my enemies, and I have no proof that you are not in their plot.” After these words, instead of going up higher, he came down in the greatest haste and ran off as fast as his legs could carry him, leaving the clerk fixed with astonishment ; it was he who the next day told me of this fright of Robespierre, and added, “ If I had had such an intention as Robespierre thought proper to insinuate, nothing could have been easier than clearing the earth of such a monster ; we were alone, in a bye place, and it was night.”

You

You have without doubt, my lord, read the multiplied accounts of the day of the ninth of Thermidor, of that day which put the last period to our misfortunes, and on which began the dawn, not of our happiness, but of relief from the evils we were suffering; I will therefore only give you such particulars as I witnessed. At the moment that St. Just ascended the tribune to read his speech, from which he had anticipated a very different result, each party sent to fetch the deputies from the different committees, and they came in great numbers. Not once has the sitting been so complete since sentence was passed on the king. I stood close to the small stairs of the tribune. After the vigorous attacks of Tallien and of Billaud de Varennes, Robespierre made many efforts to speak, in vain; he went from the tribune, from which he was pushed amongst the deputies, imploring the assistance of all the members. It was at last decreed that he should be accused and arrested; his friend Le Bas, whom the public hardly knew, and about whom the convention had not even a thought, got up very coolly, and said “that he partook of the

sentiments and of the virtue of Robespierre, and that he demanded to partake of his fate ;” thus was he involved in this business.

The gouty Couthon, seated with his dog upon his knees, was not so noble as Lebas, on the first reproach that was made of his having joined in the madness of the tyrant ; he cowardly deserted him, and turning to the side on which the mountain party sat, said in a honeyed tone, “ Oh ! my friends, do you think I would share in the crimes of such a monster ?” this baseness accelerated his fall.

When the commune, which for several hours had served as a place of refuge to the proscribed persons, was broken into and mastered, the guilty deputies were seized and carried to the convention ; Robespierre who was wounded, was borne away by four men, each holding him an arm or a leg. Arrived in the room preceding that wherein the sittings were held, they threw him on the ground at the feet of the statue of liberty ; the convention having refused to see him, he and his brethren in iniquity were taken into the chamber of the committee of public safety ; I went thither to look at them, and

and saw in one corner, Couthon laid upon a mattrass with Robespierre the younger, who had broken his thigh by throwing himself from one of the windows in the commune ; a little further the corpse of Lebas, who had the courage to put an end to himself ; St. Just and Dumas standing in another corner reflecting upon the revolution of events ; and lastly, Robespierre the elder, seated upon a chair supporting his broken jaw-bone with one of his hands, and with the other picking up pieces of paper, with which he wiped off the clotted blood that proceeded from his wound. His piercing but wandering eye, fixed upon the deputies, who cowardly were loading him with invectives in his painful situation, and who the evening before had basely flattered him or partaken in his madness. Rhul was the only one who had the courage to reprimand their behaviour ; he sent for a surgeon to dress the wound of the overthrown tiger, and desired every one to retire.

I shall not say any thing more about this shocking spectacle, which finished with the execution of the guilty.

In the following days the convention made all the dispatch they could to redress in some measure the evils committed by Robespierre ; they gave liberty to a great number of victims, amongst the rest to the deputies that had been arrested, who immediately resumed their seats. A decree had ordered the visitation of their papers, which a commission, consisting of four deputies, was ordered to examine immediately.

The deputies now applied to the convention to have their papers restored to them, which was agreed to.

Many of them were violent in saying that their secrets had been pried into, which very much embarrassed the four examiners, as they feared the vengeance of their colleagues ; they therefore applied to Alexis whom they had chosen for their secretary, and who had made an inventory of all the papers ; this young man joked them about their fears, and promised, without explaining himself, to make them easy.

This was his plan ; he shut himself in his office, and then took the papers which he had
inven-

inventorised, and having mixed together those belonging to each of the deputies in a confused manner, he tied them up in separate parcels, which he sealed with the seal of the commission, and placed them upon the shelves, with a label affixed to each of them, on which was written *Papers belonging to Deputy * * * * * to be examined.*" This business took him twenty hours.

The next day the deputies came in a great hurry to fetch their papers ; when they entered the room, they seemed to be a good deal out of temper, but on seeing the labels, they became cheerful, and went away well satisfied, being fully persuaded that their secrets were not known. They returned their thanks to the members of the commission, who were amazed at every compliment they received, and came immediately to Alexis for an explanation, who acquainted them with his stratagem.

Would you believe it, my lord, that for all the services he has rendered, and the work that he has performed, this young Alexis is without a place and without money, with a father and a mother,

mother, besides a brother, who is an ideot, to maintain; he has in vain applied to deputies who know him, he has only obtained compliments and promises from them. This is all that is to be got for labouring for certain people; they always shuffle off those that thoroughly know them.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

FOURTH LETTER.

LORD BEDFORD TO*****

SIR,

London, 1st November, 1794.

YOU are enjoying in your country some little portion of tranquillity, and I rejoice at it on your account. But for my own part, I shall not be happy till Mars has sheathed his sword, and that day of joy seems to be at a great distance from us. Wars entered into from revolutions in opinion, never have a speedy termination. I form my judgment from the three most remarkable of the kind that have been known: the first was the change from fabeism to polytheism; it extended over the entire then known world; we have not a history of it, but we have the recollection and many monuments of its existence: the second was the change from polytheism to christianity; and the third,

third, which was felt only in Arabia and in Africa, was the change from idolatry to the theism of Mahomet. These two theisms waged war against each other six hundred years before they divided between them the world, of which each gained two quarters. Far be it from me to imagine that our wars will be of equal duration, and that your opinions will propagate themselves to so great a distance. I have, on the contrary, some hope of an approaching peace between our two nations. I will tell you upon what I found my opinion : a few days ago I was in company with a Frenchman, who although an emigrant, is feelingly alive to the happiness of his country ; and he gave me a letter to read, which he had just received from one of your agents at Venice ; it seems to bespeak a mutual disposition to an accommodation ; but you may judge of it yourself from the copy I send you.

Extract from a letter of N. French agent at
Venice.

“ Something has happened to-day which does not in the least surprise me, and which
I im-

I impart to you in secrecy. An Englishman, named Mises, who has always been very strenuous for a continuation of peace, wrote to me last week. After many philanthropic reflections, and compassionate remarks upon the sufferings of humanity, he proposed to me, without confessing that he had a formal order to the purpose, to come to England, to land at Dover, to go straight to London, and to make his house my home. He has, he says, hopes that every thing will be arranged. He talks of the estimation in which my character is held ; he desires peace to be of my bringing about ; and as I know the connections of Mises, I can pretty well guess at the situation of England, the difficulty in which Pitt finds himself, and the many underhand fermentations which are going forward in that country ; thus I have no doubt of the Englishman having had a private order to write to me, and I judge from thence in how great distress the English government must be. Another consideration which does not escape me is, that this letter, backed by another which arrived yesterday, is of a prior date to the taking of Toulon, of which we had news yesterday."

You

You see, sir, my hopes have at least some foundation. As my intention in writing you this letter was merely to convey to you this pleasing intelligence, I will not delay the moment of its reaching you, by scribbling any more; so I conclude by assuring you once more of my friendship.

BEDFORD.

FIFTH LETTER.

***** TO MY LORD BEDFORD.

AT length we have a constitution, a directory, and two councils. But will it last? That time must prove. This government is the fruit of many a tumult since my last letter. On the 13th of Vendémiaire, we were very near having a king again. As you read our newspapers, you must know that Paris has once again laid siege to the Tuileries. Again have its walls been washed with blood. The pretence under which the insurrection was made, was the re-election of a portion of the members of the convention. On one side they were exciting the people to rise and prevent this re-election; on the other to demand its being done. In order to secure their triumph, the leaders of the convention wanted to conquer Paris; they certainly did

did stir it up to battle. Form your judgment from the following anecdote.

Two days before this affair took place, I went from curiosity into the church of St. Eustache. The section was assembled, and discussing new laws. An orator in the tribune was thundering forth a thousand horrors against the convention. Being too far from him to recognize his person, I went nearer to him, and was not a little surprised to find him a man in the employment of the committee of general safety. The next day I met a member of this committee, of whom I asked, if this man, whom I named to him, was still employed by them. He answered me in the affirmative; and I then told him the motive of my asking the question, and what I had heard the evening before. And what do you think he replied to me, as he clapped me on the back? "Oh, he thundered away against us, did he? Well done he! my dear fellow you ca'nt see into the millstone!" Now I ask it of you, my lord, can the poor Parisians be more cruelly deceived?

The convention had but about 3000 regulars, with which to resist the entire capital in arms.

In

In order to increase its forces, it summoned to its aid from the prisons some hundreds of anarchists, whom it had thrown into them a short time before. It is true that the Parisians had no cannon, while the troops of the convention were well provided with them. Before the action, the deputies, very doubtful about the event of the struggle, ran into the garden and court, encouraging their soldiers to valour. One of them, S——, forgetting his profession of priest, distributed himself arms amongst the combatants. What most surprised me on that unhappy day, was to see the wives of the deputies assemble themselves at the Tuileries, to share the danger with their husbands: they employed themselves in rending their handkerchiefs and shifts, and binding with them the soldiers' wounds. Neither the noise of the cannon, nor the hissing of the balls, frightened them away from this dreadful, but highly praiseworthy employment. You know that the event of this day was the triumph of the convention, and the re-election of two thirds of its members. As this law was passed in blood, I fear it will not produce happiness.

The palace of the Tuileries is at present occupied by the council of ancients ; that of the 500 holds its sittings in the palais Bourbon, and the five members of the executive directory, have chosen for themselves the palace of Luxembourg. Different dresses, of which I send you drawings, distinguish the members of these three different authorities ; they do not wear them in the streets. These dresses are of a shape and taste without precedent ; they are not less calculated to gain their wearers respect, than to command admiration. But, however, this may be one step towards getting out of the confusion into which we have been plunged.

The catholic religion, which Robespierre attempted to annihilate by his thirty-six decadary festivals *, is far from being extinguished ; it
begins

* The following are the names of the festivals, in the order in which they were decreed—To the supreme Being, and to nature—to the human race—to the French people—to the benefactors of humanity—to the martyrs of liberty—to liberty and equality—to the republic—to the liberty of the world—to the love of our country—to the hatred of tyrants—to truth—to justice—to chastity—to glory and immortality—to friendship—to frugality—to courage—to good faith—to heroism—to disinterestedness—to stoicism—to love
—to

begins to appear again, but with great precautions. A new religion is springing up, which its founder, La Réveillère-Lepaux, has named *Theophilanthropy*. Its simplicity predicts its fall; it consists only in moral instructions, without any mystic ideas, or any ceremonies; no mystery is to be found in it, and that alone will stab its popularity. Men like to be dazzled, deceived, and even frightened, in what relates to religion. This is the reason why the descendants of St. Peter, and of the other apostles, have smothered up the precepts of Jesus Christ in flames and phantoms, and a thousand other objects of terror, which have even effaced the remembrance of the Pagan religion, voluptuous and sensual as it was.

I have the honour to be, &c.

—to conjugal faith—to parental love—to maternal tenderness—to filial piety—to infancy—to youth—to manhood—to old age—to misfortune—to agriculture—to industry—to our ancestors—to posterity—to prosperity.—To which thirty-six festivals must be added, those to the virtues, to genius, to labour, to opinion, to rewards, which took place on the five complimentary days, called the *Sans-culottides*.

SIXTH LETTER.

LETTER FROM THE COMMISSARY TO MY LORD
BEDFORD.

MY LORD, Paris, 25th of Brumaire, 9th year.

DEATH has just snatched from us our common friend. In his last moments he charged me to impart to you this melancholy intelligence. All his regret at leaving this world, was, its being denied to him to take leave of you : his illness was violent, but short ; a malignant fever carried him off in three days. As peace, which we are assured is very near, will re-establish a free communication both of men and commerce, I intend to profit by the time, and visit England. I promise myself the honour of paying my respects to you, when I will give you all the particulars of this fatal event.

You are doubtless acquainted, my lord, with the changes that have again taken place in the
form

form of our government. I think they will be permanent, and produce happiness, and my reason for having formed this opinion of them is, that they were effected without tumult, or the shedding of blood, which was not the case with any of the former ones. The French appear one and all tired of the revolution; panting for tranquillity, and prepared to seize upon it in any way they are able. Nothing now stands in the way of their wish, but the war; and every body thinks it is drawing towards a conclusion. Every power wishes for peace; they all know that Frenchmen, although wearied out, are not the less brave, and will fight hard for victory. Could you ever have believed, that this nation, delivered up for seven years to all the horrors of anarchy, attacked by all other powers, who in their attacks upon it appeared only to differ about the mode of striking it out from the political table of Europe, destitute of that metal which is the spring of all the actions of man, in want of every kind of requisite for the carrying on of war, upon the point of experiencing the horrors of a famine, in short, without friends or allies, would have made every

every state in Europe feel its prowess, and lastly have fixed its triumphant standards in Greece, that country once so fertile in heroes?

It must be confessed that the century we are about to quit, is a century of wonders, and that the most sagacious man must have been mistaken in his calculations upon its events. It is scarcely fifty years since the new philosophy began timidly to lisp out its maxims, and it is already greater than any age which has preceded it. No doubt but the cruel manner in which its corrosive principles destroyed in France whatever opposed their establishment, will make the present generation loath to propagate them. But the seed is every where scattered; and notwithstanding all the efforts that may be used to choke and smother it, it will at some time, and in some place, spring up again and flourish. This seed is, in my opinion, the declaration of the rights of man; it is the gospel of mankind, whose light like that of the christians which it resembles, may for a time be smothered, but will at last shine forth with as great brilliancy.

Paris begins again to wear its smiling countenance,

tenance; sorrowful news is now very rare; people are beginning to settle without fear, to resort together, and to chat about their affairs. That mass of incoherent laws, which were as weak as barbarous, is done away, and the life of an individual is considered of some consequence. Rancorous passions are dying away; both parties and individuals are mutually forgetting their wrongs, and I do not despair of soon seeing Paris and France only one family of brothers.

I have the honor to remain, &c.

SEVENTH

SEVENTH LETTER.

LORD BEDFORT TO THE COMMISSARY *****

SIR,

London, 5th Nov. 1799.

COME hither as quickly as you are able, and mix your tears with those which I shed over your letter. I want a friend with whom to weep for a friend; inestimable man! have we then lost him? It appears as if heaven, envious of our happiness, only suffered us to become acquainted with the most admirable of its works, that it might make us feel regret, by immediately depriving us of them again. But I will not suffer myself to make any reflections till your arrival; thus I shall not answer any part of your esteemed letter, and I warn you that I shall write to you no more, in the hope that my resolution may hasten that moment when I shall fold you in my arms.

BEDFORT.

THE END.

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